

SETTLEMENT AND CRUSADE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

MULTIDISCIPLINARY STUDIES OF THE LATIN EAST

CRUSADES – SUBSIDIA 15

EDITED BY
GIL FISHHOFF, JUDITH BRONSTEIN
AND VARDIT R. SHOTTEN-HALLEL



Settlement and Crusade in the Thirteenth Century

Settlement and Crusade in the Thirteenth Century sheds new light on formerly less explored aspects of the crusading movement and the Latin East during the thirteenth century.

In commemoration of the 800th anniversary of the construction of 'Atlit Castle, a significant section of this volume is dedicated to the castle, which was one of the most impressive built in the Latin East. Scholarly debate has centred on the reasons behind the construction of the castle, its role in the defence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the thirteenth century, and its significance for the Templar order. The studies in this volume shed new light on diverse aspects of the site, including its cemetery and the surveys conducted there. Further chapters examine Cyprus during the thirteenth century, which under the Lusignan dynasty was an important centre of Latin settlement in the East, and a major trade centre. These chapters present new contributions regarding the complex visual culture which developed on the island, the relation between different social groups, and settlement patterns.

Adopting a multidisciplinary approach, this book will be of interest to scholars and students of the medieval period, as well as those interested in the Crusades, archaeology, material culture, and art history.

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Multidisciplinary Studies of the Latin East

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Multidisciplinary Studies of the Latin East

**Edited by Gil Fishhof, Judith Bronstein
and Vardit R. Shotten-Hallel**

First published 2021
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Bronstein, Judith, 1964– editor. | Fishhof, Gil, editor. | Shotten-Hallel, Vardit, editor, author. | Latin East in the 13th century : institutions, settlements and material culture (Conference) (2018 : Haifa, Israel)

Title: Settlement and crusade in the thirteenth century : multidisciplinary studies of the Latin East / edited by Judith Bronstein, Gil Fishhof, and Vardit Shotten-Hallel.

Description: First edition. | New York : Routledge, 2021. | Subjects: LCSH: Latin Orient—History—Congresses. | Crusades—13th–15th centuries—Congresses. | Land settlement—Latin Orient—Congresses. | ‘Atlit (Israel)—Antiquities—Congresses. | Excavations (Archaeology)—Israel—‘Atlit—Congresses. | Castles—Israel—‘Atlit—Congresses. | Cyprus—History—Lusignan dynasty, 1192–1474—Congresses.

Classification: LCC D178 .S48 2021 (print) | LCC D178 (ebook) | DDC 956.9/014—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021003679>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021003680>

ISBN: 978-0-367-19674-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-367-77245-1 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-0-429-20388-6 (ebk)

Typeset in Times
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

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Preface

This volume presents the fruits of a conference held at the University of Haifa in early 2018: 'The Latin East in the 13th Century, Institutions, Settlements, and Material Culture, commemorating the 800th anniversary of the construction of 'Atlit Castle'. Professor Adrian Boas was our partner in the organising committee of the conference, and we received the support of various departments and programmes at Haifa University, the Israel Antiquities Authority, and the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. Over 60 scholars from Europe, America, and Israel presented papers relating to the theme of the conference.

The thirteenth century was a pivotal period in the history of the Latin East, characterised by great achievements alongside great adversities. This period began and terminated with two major disasters: at its beginning, the results of the Battle of Hattin; and towards its end, the fall of Acre and the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The need to cope with the devastating consequences of Hattin, to recover and reconstruct the kingdom, while also continuously engaging with its deterioration, resulted in intensive activity in every field, including battle techniques, castle construction, economy, and trade. The establishment of a Frankish presence and settlement in places like Cyprus (conquered by Richard the Lionheart in 1191 and later passed to the Lusignans) and the Morea (conquered by the Villehardouin family and others), became essential for the survival of the Frankish kingdom.

The present volume sheds light on some previously less explored aspects of the crusader movement and the Latin East in this fascinating period, offering a multidisciplinary approach and focusing on settlement, archaeology, material culture, maritime studies, history, and art history. To achieve its vast purpose, the book has brought together an international team of specialists in their respective fields, offering a wide range of viewpoints, from specific case studies discussing particular sites to the assessments of wider phenomena.

The book is arranged in five thematic sections. Opening the volume, the first section is dedicated to the complex social developments that took place in the Latin Kingdom in the aftermath of the Battle of Hattin, as well as to some of the developments in warfare and camp technologies in the thirteenth century. Heading this section is the contribution by Benjamin Z. Kedar, who presents a broad overview that compares the characteristics of the Second Kingdom of Jerusalem

with those of the First Kingdom, examining such aspects as the rhythm and duration of territorial expansion, demography and the ratio of Franks versus non-Franks, commerce, and the prominence of holy places. The next contribution, by Beatrice Saletti, which sheds light on the Italian presence and activity in Acre, focuses on a specific social phenomenon in the city – the Italian brotherhood of the Holy Spirit, about which very little is known apart from its statutes of 1216. The next two studies in this section offer innovative discussions of developments in maritime and warfare technologies. The contribution by Rafael Y. Lewis, Nimrod Getzov, and Ianir Milevski turns its attention to land warfare, and seeks to reveal developments in the layout and characteristics of encampments in the Latin East in light of new excavations at the Spring of Saforie; while the contribution by Pierre-Vincent Claverie focuses on naval warfare and engages with developments in both naval siege warfare and maritime logistics in the thirteenth century.

In commemoration of the 800th anniversary of the construction of ‘Atlit Castle, the next section is dedicated to the castle itself, which was one of the most magnificent built in the Latin East. Scholarly discussion has debated the reasons behind its construction, its role in the defence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century, its significance for the Templar order, for pilgrimage and more. The studies in this section shed new light on diverse aspects of the site, such as practices of incarceration in the castle and the surveys conducted there. Helen J. Nicholson opens the section with an overview of the history of the castle, examining a vast range of sources regarding its construction and span of activity, including contemporaneous letters, commentaries, histories, pilgrims’ accounts, and Templar regulations. Vardit R. Shotten-Hallel then analyses the various historical testimonies for the construction of the castle, and discusses them in detail, particularly the discrepancies between them. They are examined in light of the archaeological surveys and findings. The next contribution, by Yvonne Friedman, focuses on incarceration in the thirteenth century and underlines the function of ‘Atlit Castle as a central prison for the Templar order. The contribution by Yves Gleize concludes this section with a discussion of new archaeological data on the medieval cemetery of ‘Atlit.

The third section of the volume is dedicated to Cyprus, which in the thirteenth century, under the Lusignan dynasty, was an important centre of Latin settlement in the East and a major trade centre. The chapters in this section present new contributions to questions regarding the complex visual culture that developed on the island and its settlement patterns. The first contribution, by Michalis Olympios, provides a broad-scale analytic overview of the art-historical developments on the island in the thirteenth century, concentrating on the history of thirteenth-century Gothic architecture in Cyprus in particular, and within the Latin East in general. In doing so, Olympios rejects earlier Francocentric assessments of the emergence of the Gothic in the eastern Mediterranean, suggesting instead a historiographical model that stresses the reception and adaptation of the Gothic style at both the regional and the local levels.

The next three studies in this section turn their attention to specific places, individuals, and phenomena, which in turn demonstrate the complexities of life

and society in Cyprus in the thirteenth century. The study by Nicholas Coureas focuses on thirteenth-century Limassol, examining the city in regard to such aspects as its place within crusader campaigns in the eastern Mediterranean, the traders it attracted, and its importance for Western settlers. The study by Geoffrey Meyer-Fernandez focuses on a fascinating sociological, demographic, and art-historical phenomenon: the migration of newcomers and refugees from the Holy Land to Cyprus, which became particularly numerous in the second half of the thirteenth century, following the loss of Christian-held cities in Syria and Palestine to the Muslims. This migration also included artists and craftspeople, who introduced changes to the artistic production on the island. The last study in this section, by Stephen Donnachie, is dedicated to the reign of Aimery de Lusignan (1197–1205), whose rule has not previously been the focus of extensive research. Donnachie analyses the ways in which Aimery sought to distinguish his rule from that of his brother's disastrous reign, and how he endeavoured to resolve peacefully the lingering political disputes from that earlier reign.

Moving from the realms of social, military, or material developments towards literary and textual traditions, the fourth section of the volume engages with the many types of documents and literary works created in (or about) the Latin East in the thirteenth century: from charters to chronicles and to epic poems.

The study by Thomas W. Smith explores a collection of 54 Fifth Crusade charters, previously overlooked. Smith identifies the forgeries within this group, opening them up for further research. The second study in this section, by Carol Sweetenham, analyses the evolution of literary traditions of the depiction of the First Crusade. She argues that the defeat at Hattin brought a new urgency to the need to communicate the example set by the First Crusade and encouraged new accounts in the vernacular, in both prose and poetry. Offering an analysis of these accounts through the lens of translation, the author examines the ways in which these sources reveal the changing views on the Crusade, as well as the development of translation in portraying historical events.

The fifth and final section of the volume looks at the Latin East from the perspective of, and in correlation to, developments in the West in the thirteenth century, focusing on both the intricate network of connections between East and West, as well as offering case examples of economic, political, and architectural developments in the West that shed light on such connections.

The study by Karl Borchardt focuses on the castle that was begun in 1275 by Fr. Henry of Boxberg in Biebelried, a few kilometres east of Würzburg. This was an almost quadratic new castle with bossed walls and at least one small round tower in one of the corners. The construction formed part of the thirteenth-century Hospitaller territorialisation in Franconia. Borchardt's detailed study examines the intricate history of this building and of the Boxberg dynasty, including the possibility that the connections between Fr. Henry of Boxberg and Fr. Henry of Fürstenberg (1259–1262), magnus preceptor of the Hospitaller convent at Acre, may explain the characteristics of the new Biebelried castle.

The study by Damien Carraz is devoted to the important Hospitaller priory of Saint Gilles in the years c.1260–c.1300. Carraz examines the human, material,

and financial contributions of the Provençal commanderies for the defence of the Latin East through the transfer of goods and individuals, as evidenced in the charters. As the author suggests, the fall of Acre in 1291 did not put an end to these endeavours, as many brethren of the priory of Saint Gilles were still prepared to make the journey overseas.

Moving to the Iberian Peninsula, Maria Bonet and Julia Pavón analyse the way in which the Holy Land was perceived by the people, dignitaries, and intellectuals in the Crown of Aragon and Navarre in the thirteenth century, by examining three main and interconnected issues: first, the changing attitudes to the Templars and the Hospitallers, who were considered to be a priori the most direct representatives of the Holy Land; second, the role of the Holy Land in the consolidation of the figures of the Aragonese and Navarrese kings who would lead the Crusades; and third, the presence of the Aragonese and Navarrese in the conflicts that took place in the crusader states, both as members of the military orders and as combatants sent to give support to their leaders' commitments.

The fourth study in this section, by Miha Kosi, examines one of the most prestigious crusading dynasties in the West – that of the Babenberg Dukes of Austria. It was during the Fifth Crusade that Duke Leopold VI of Austria gave the Knights Templar 50 marks of gold to build their new castle in 'Atlit. Kosi examines the remarkable crusading activities of members of this dynasty, beginning with the legendary participation of a female member, Ita (who joined the ill-fated expedition of 1101), as well as those of later members throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The last study in this section, by Shlomo Lotan, focuses on one of the most important leaders of the Teutonic order in the middle of the thirteenth century: Eberhard of Sayn, the Grand Commander who succeeded to reinforce the order's troops in the Latin East as well as in their provinces in northern Europe and the Baltic region. The study examines, among others, Eberhard's success in rehabilitating the Teutonic institutions in the second half of the thirteenth century in Acre and the Upper Galilee.

Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge our great debt and express our gratitude to the advisory committee of the book – Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hellen Nicholson and Adrian Boas – for their important comments and suggestions. We also thank Robert Kool and Yves Gleize for their valuable counsel at crucial stages.

For their generous financial support, we are grateful to the Israel Antiquities Authority; to the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East; and, at Haifa University, to the Faculty of Humanities, the School of History, the Department of Art History, the Department of Israel Studies, and the Haifa Centre for Mediterranean History. We are very grateful too, to Mrs. Tami Leviel, who assisted in organising the conference in Haifa University, from which this book grew.

Above all, we thank all of our colleague authors who agreed to share their fascinating research with us at the conference and for this book. Finally, we thank the series editors and staff at Routledge, for their professional work and kind help during the process of producing this book, and particularly Christoph T. Maier, Stewart Beale, and Chris Mathews.

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de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290 (2015) and *Images et ornements autour des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge: culture visuelle et culte des saints* (2016). In 2020, his thesis *L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône* (2005) was republished in a new edition and he released *Un commandeur ordinaire? Bérenger Monge et le gouvernement des hospitaliers provençaux au XIII^e siècle* with Brepols editions. He is also secretary of the *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* (<http://cahiersdefanjeaux.com>).

Pierre-Vincent Claverie, PhD 2004, published five books and 75 studies about the Latin East and the military orders. Over the last few years he has been working for the Cyprus Research Centre. His latest book deals with the relationship between northern Catalonia and the Levant in the second half of the fourteenth century: *Les notules pour Chypre et le Levant des notaires perpignanais, Bernat Pastor et Jaume Molines (1368–1408)* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2019).

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Abbreviations

<i>AOL</i>	<i>Archives de l'Orient latin</i>
<i>Autour</i>	<i>Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East</i> , Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 1996).
<i>Cart Hosp</i>	<i>Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310</i> , ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris, 1884–1906).
<i>Cart St Sép</i>	<i>Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem</i> , ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades, 15 (Paris, 1984).
<i>Cart Tem</i>	<i>Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?–1150. Recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'ordre du Temple</i> , ed. Guigues A.M.J.A. Marquis d'Albon (Paris, 1913).
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis.
<i>Crusades</i> , ed. Setton	<i>A History of the Crusades</i> , general ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 2nd ed., 6 vols. (Madison, 1969–89).
<i>Crusade Sources</i>	<i>The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton</i> , ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998).
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
<i>Horns</i>	<i>The Horns of Hattin</i> , ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem and London, 1992).

- Jacques de Vitry,
Cinquième Croisade Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de la Cinquième Croisade*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, translation by G. Duchet-Suchaux (Leiden, 1998).
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- Kreuzfahrerstaaten* *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer with Elisabeth Müller-Luckner, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 3 (Munich, 1997).
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- Mayer, *Urkunden* Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem, (Diplomata regum Latinorum*

	<i>Hierosolymitanorum</i>), Altfranzösische Texte erstellt von Jean Richard, vol. 1 (Hannover, 2010).
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<i>MO, 1</i>	<i>The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick</i> , ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot, 1994).
<i>MO, 2</i>	<i>The Military Orders, 2, Welfare and Warfare</i> , ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998).
<i>MO, 3</i>	<i>The Military Orders, 3, History and Heritage</i> , ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot, 2008).
<i>MO, 4</i>	<i>The Military Orders, 4, On Land and By Sea</i> , ed. Judy Upton-Ward (Aldershot, 2008).
<i>MO, 5</i>	<i>The Military Orders, 5, Politics and Power</i> , ed. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot, 2012).
<i>MO, 6</i>	<i>The Military Orders, 6, Culture and Conflict in the Mediterranean World</i> , ed. Mike Carr and Jochen Schenk (London, 2017).
<i>Montjoie</i>	<i>Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer</i> , ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Rudolf Hiestand (Aldershot, 1997).
Oliver Scholasticus, “Briefe”	Oliver Scholasticus, “ <i>Briefe</i> ” in <i>Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späterem bischofs von Paderborn und cardinal-bischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus</i> , ed. Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894).
Oliver Scholasticus, “ <i>Historia Damiatina</i> ”	Oliver Scholasticus, “ <i>Historia Damiatina</i> ,” in <i>Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späterem bischofs von Paderborn und cardinal-bischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus</i> , ed. Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894).
OMCTH	Ordines Militares, Colloquia Torunensia Historica
<i>Outremer</i>	<i>Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem</i>

	<i>Presented to Joshua Prawer, ed.</i>
	Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans E. Mayer and
	Raymond C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982).
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
QDAP	<i>Quarterly of the Department of</i>
	<i>Antiquities in Palestine</i>
QSGDO	Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des
	Deutschen Ordens
RHC	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades</i>
<i>Oc</i>	<i>Historiens occidentaux</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Historiens orientaux</i>
RIS	Rerum Italicarum Scriptores
RRH	Reinhold Röhricht, comp., <i>Regesta regni</i>
	<i>hierosolymitani</i> (Innsbruck, 1894).
RRH Add	Reinhold Röhricht, comp., <i>Additamentum</i>
	(Innsbruck, 1904).
RRR	<i>Revised Regesta regni hierosolymitani</i>
RS	Rolls Series
WT	William of Tyre, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. Robert
	B.C. Huygens, CCCM 63–63A (Turnhout,
	1986).



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Part 1

The Latin Kingdom in the thirteenth century



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1 On some characteristics of the Second Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1191–1291

Benjamin Z. Kedar

In this chapter, I attempt to draw up a balance sheet of the Second Kingdom of Jerusalem, or the Kingdom of Acre, that existed between 1191 and 1291. I shall start with politics, external and internal; these are the issues on which the major histories of the Crusades, written in recent decades, tend to concentrate on when dealing with the Frankish presence in Syria-Palestine during this period. Then I shall turn to the issues of demography, commerce, and holy places, which have received little attention in these historical works, although occasionally one encounters some perceptive observations on them.

The recounting, in these major histories of the Crusades, of the external political developments tends to be narrative, with few attempts at generalisations, or at comparisons with the First Kingdom of Jerusalem of the years 1099–1187. My attempt to generalise and compare will focus on a crucial issue of external politics, namely the expansion of the area under Christian control.

When we focus on this issue from a comparative perspective, several salient features come to the fore. The first is the rhythm of territorial expansion. During the First Kingdom, successful territorial expansion took place from the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 to the conquest of Ascalon in 1153, that is for 54 years. Successful territorial expansion in the times of the Second Kingdom took place over 50 years, from the conquest of Acre in 1191 to the recovery of most of Palestine in 1240–1241. Are we justified therefore to speak of a 54-year-long-expansion during the First Kingdom as against a 50-year-long one during the Second? No – because numbers can be misleading. When we take a closer look, we realise that territorial expansion of the First Kingdom was rapid – it was largely over by 1115, when King Baldwin I took possession of southern Transjordan; only the two coastal towns of Tyre and Ascalon remained in Muslim hands, until 1124 and 1153, respectively. The territorial expansion of the Second Kingdom, on the other hand, was very gradual, and took place mainly in the fourth and fifth decades of its existence.¹ For almost 40 years, from 1191 to 1229 to be exact, the kingdom was largely limited to a strip along the coast. Then came the acquisition of most of Jerusalem in 1229 and of much of Palestine in 1240–1241.

The second salient feature is the role of crusaders versus that of locals in territorial expansion. While local Frankish forces under the King of Jerusalem played the leading role in the territorial expansion of the First Kingdom, occasionally acting without any outside help, expansion during the Second Kingdom was

primarily achieved by crusaders from Europe. The Third Crusade re-established Christian rule along the coast from Tyre to Jaffa. The German Crusade of 1197 led to the conquest of the coast all the way to Beirut. The efforts of the crusaders who, in 1204, chose to fight on the “Second Front” of the Fourth Crusade, led to a truce under whose terms the Christians recaptured Jaffa, gained full control over Ramleh and Lydda, and, in the north, recovered Nazareth.² Frederick II’s crusade of 1228–1229 acquired for the kingdom most of Jerusalem and all of Bethlehem, as well as the road from Ramleh to Jerusalem, and in the north, the area of Toron (Tibnin) east of Tyre. Finally, the Crusades of Thibaut of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall brought about the acquisition, in 1240–1241, of most of Palestine, with the exception of the regions of Nablus, Hebron, and Gaza.³

This preponderance of crusaders from Europe in the expansion of the Second Kingdom was largely matched by their crucial role in fortifying its coastal castles and towns, a role recently highlighted by Christopher Tyerman. Crusaders fortified ‘Atlit and Caesarea in 1217–1218, Caesarea, Sidon, and the castle of Jaffa in 1228–1229, Ascalon in 1240–1241, Acre, Caesarea, and Jaffa in 1250–1254, and Acre in 1271–1272; in addition, Bishop Benoît of Alignan of Marseille pressed in 1240 for rebuilding the inland castle of Safed.⁴ In other words, the fortification of ‘Atlit, the eighth centennial of which has brought us here together, should be regarded as an illustration of a pattern. True, some local magnates did undertake works of fortification, like Jean of Ibelin who in 1241 began to fortify the castle of Arsuf,⁵ and Eudes of Montbéliard, Prince of Galilee, who about the same time refortified the citadel of Tiberias;⁶ and surely the military orders engaged in fortification. Yet the situation was markedly different from that in the First Kingdom, when locals initiated almost all fortification works. The construction of Latrun Castle in the 1130s by Count Rodrigo González of Toledo appears to be the only such work initiated, during the First Kingdom, by a visitor from abroad.⁷

The third feature of the Second Kingdom’s expansion is the prominent role of crusader diplomacy in it. While in the First Kingdom, territorial growth resulted from military victories, during the Second Kingdom successful negotiations brought about the most important territorial gains. Frederick II in 1229, Thibaut IV of Champagne in 1240, and Richard of Cornwall in 1241 – all three of them, crusaders from abroad who spent a short time in Outremer – deftly took advantage of tensions, rivalries, and conflicts among Ayyubid rulers and extricated significant territorial concessions from them. These achievements may be compared with the failure, in the times of the First Kingdom, of King Amaury’s attempt to take advantage of inter-Muslim rivalry and secure the control of Egypt – an attempt that not only failed but also triggered Saladin’s rise to eminence. The achievements of Frederick II, Thibaut of Champagne, and Richard of Cornwall may be also compared to the one major attempt of the local Franks to exploit inter-Ayyubid rivalries: the Frankish alliance with as-Sālih Ismā’īl of Damascus, an-Nāsir Dawūd of Kerak, and al-Mansūr Ibrāhīm of Homs against the sultan of Egypt, as-Sālih Ayyūb, the alliance that led to the crushing defeat of the Franks at La Forbie on 17 October 1244.⁸

The fourth feature of the Second Kingdom's expansion is its short-lived nature. In the First Kingdom, the conquered territories remained in Frankish hands, with few exceptions, down to 1187; on the other hand, the major gains of 1229, 1240, and 1241 were ephemeral. Jerusalem and Bethlehem reverted to Muslim rule 15 years after Emperor Frederick's agreement with al-Malik al-Kāmil; Ascalon, obtained by Thibaut of Champagne in 1240 and Tiberias, gained by Richard of Cornwall a year later, fell to the Muslims as early as 1247. Of the acquisitions of 1240–1241, only the castles of Safed and Beaufort held out longer, the first until 1266, the second until 1268.

The fifth feature is the absence of any further territorial expansion after 1241, and an increasingly accelerated shrinkage instead: the final loss of Jerusalem and Bethlehem in 1244, the loss of Tiberias and Ascalon in 1247, the gradual conquest by the Mamluks of the kingdom's remainder from the 1260s onward. Also, the alliance that led to the defeat at La Forbie marked the last significant Christian attempt to ally with one regional power against another. Sixteen years later, when the era's most important battle on Palestine's soil took place, that is, the Battle of 'Ayn Jalūt in September 1260, in which the Mamluks defeated the Mongols – the Franks chose to remain neutral, although the battle took place only about 30 miles southeast of Acre. Indeed, it appears that after 1244 a gloomy mood began to pervade Frankish Outremer: as early as 1248, a charter drawn up at Acre envisaged the following scenarios – the loss of the entire kingdom of Jerusalem with the exception of Acre or Tyre; the loss of the kingdom as well as of one or both of these two cities.⁹ Consequently, I propose to divide the history of the Second Kingdom of Jerusalem into two sub-periods: 1191 to 1244, and 1244 to 1291, with the final fall of Jerusalem and the defeat at La Forbie, both in 1244, marking the watershed between the two sub-periods.

It is worthwhile to note that, unlike the Franks of Acre, King Hetoum I of Armenian Cilicia chose to enter into an alliance with the Mongols already in 1254. In January 1260, his troops and those of his son-in-law Bohemond VI of Antioch joined the Mongols in massacring the Muslims of Aleppo.¹⁰ Two months later, when the Mongols conquered Damascus, Bohemond ordered to chant the Mass "of the Franks" and ring bells within the city's Great Mosque; as for the other mosques of Damascus, he turned them into stables and ordered to spill wine and smear fresh and salted bits of pork on their walls.¹¹ It is symptomatic that of the authors of the major histories of the Crusades written in recent decades, only Joshua Prawer mentions these Christian acts of desecration.¹² Others chose to disregard them; for instance, Jonathan Riley-Smith merely reports that Bohemond VI "entered Damascus with the Mongol army in March 1260."¹³

Let us turn now to the internal politics of the Second Kingdom. In the past, this issue has been the subject of much analysis: suffice it to mention the discussion of the communal movement, started by Joshua Prawer's paper of 1966, or Jonathan Riley-Smith's book on the kingdom's nobility, published in 1973.¹⁴ Yet in recent decades, this problematique has not attracted much attention, and I daresay that it might be worthwhile to take it up again. After all, the issue is perhaps almost

as important as gender, pilgrims' itineraries, or possibly even the incessantly discussed relationships among the chronicles of the First Crusade.

The consensual view about the Second Kingdom's internal politics emphasises the lack of dynastic stability, absentee kings, the struggle of the Frankish nobility against Emperor Frederick II, the rising power of the Italian communes and the struggles and bouts of warfare among them, the ascendancy of the military orders and the rivalry among them – all this bringing about a disintegration that made territorial units sign separate truces with the Mamluk sultans, and that finally led to the fall of Acre. This consensual view is well founded. Yet I believe that the implicit or explicit contrast between the sturdiness of the First Kingdom and the frailty of the Second Kingdom should not be overstressed. The First Kingdom had its succession crises, from the coup d'état in 1118 by which the Montlhéry family placed its candidate on the throne, to the awkward, contested coronation of Guy of Lusignan in 1186. The First Kingdom witnessed also the revolt of Hugues of Le Puiset, Count of Jaffa, against King Foulques of Anjou in 1134, and the struggle between Foulques' widow, Melisende, and her son Baldwin III in 1152, at the height of which the son dislodged the mother from Nablus and besieged her in Jerusalem's citadel. As for the Italian communes, an anonymous author who describes the First Kingdom at its zenith, observes that the Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians are of great use for the realm, excelling in naval warfare and commerce as they do; yet he goes on to state that they are exempted from all tribute, live according to their own laws, and that the Saracens profit from the discord among them.¹⁵ Thus, the traits that characterise the Italian communes in the Second Kingdom are already distinctly perceivable in the First. Finally, I doubt that during the First Kingdom there came into being “une véritable nation,” the nation of Jerusalemite Franks, and that the period 1187–1231 witnessed the beginning of a process of “dénationalisation.”¹⁶ This view, first put forward by Jean Richard in 1953, has been endorsed more recently by Hans Eberhard Mayer, who specifies that this process was boosted by foreign bodies (*Fremdkörper*) that catered to the particular interests of the nations to which they belonged, namely, the Italian communes who put first the economic advantage of their home towns, and the Teutonic Knights who acted on behalf of the Hohenstaufens.¹⁷ But was there really “une nation hiérosolymitaine” during the First Kingdom? Can we speak, in general, of nationhood in the twelfth century? Richard believed that the bulk of the Frankish population did not originate in the same area in the West: the nobility, he assumed, mostly came from northern France, while the bourgeoisie hailed from Provence. Consequently he claimed that the fact that most Jerusalemites were either French or Provençals facilitated the birth of the new Jerusalemite nation – and went on to state that this new nation amounted to a prefiguration of the France that was to arise centuries later out of the fusion of the French of the north and the Provençals of the Midi!¹⁸ Well, the term “prefiguration” tends to serve in historical studies as an elastic band that precariously holds together quite disparate objects. I believe that instead of positing a twelfth-century Frankish nation de-nationalised after 1187, we should stress the critical dependence of the Second Kingdom on outside assistance. We have noted already the major role

of crusaders from the West in the expansion of the Second Kingdom and in the fortification of its towns and castles. In addition, King Louis IX, before returning to France in 1254, left behind a contingent that consisted of 100 knights, as well as of crossbowmen and sergeants, both mounted and on foot. This contingent, financed by the French royal treasury, significantly reinforced the Second Kingdom's military capabilities, and its commanders repeatedly played important roles in the kingdom's politics.¹⁹ Also, Acre depended, at least from the 1260s onward, on the import of foodstuffs, horses, and mules from the West.²⁰

Richard, in 1953, went on to wonder about the nature of the language – “unfortunately little studied,” as he observes – which the Franks of Outremer were using, and surmised that they evolved a French dialect in which forms of Picardy and Lorraine curiously mingled with more southern ones.²¹ A recent study has fully vindicated Richard's educated guess. Cyril Aslanov, having meticulously analysed the vernacular spoken in the Second Kingdom on the basis of 228 words or phrases transcribed by letters of the Coptic alphabet, concluded that they display features pointing primarily to the dialects of Picardy, Walloon, Lorraine, and Burgundy, influenced to some extent by Italo-Romance vernaculars, as well as by Occitan, Catalan, and Arabic.²² It is but rarely that a historian's hypothesis has been so patently proven correct. Indeed, Richard's *Le Royaume latin de Jérusalem* is chock full of ideas, still one of the most stimulating works in the field.

As for the demography of the Second Kingdom, it is quite clear that the Third Crusade had an indirect though ominous effect on it. This was so because King Richard conquered Cyprus on his way to Acre, and Guy of Lusignan, who acquired the island from him in 1192, soon promised lands and benefits to the Franks of Acre and Antioch, as well as to Armenians, willing to settle there. Guy's promise caused Frankish knights, sergeants, and burgesses to move to Cyprus; so did many young Frankish women and orphans whose husbands and fathers had lost their lives at Hattin and thereafter. Chroniclers who describe these events relate that Guy enfeoffed 300 knights and 200 sergeants; one author adds derisively that Guy gave fiefs to shoemakers, masons, and scribes writing in Arabic.²³ Peter Edbury is probably right in assuming that the numbers – 300 knights, 200 sergeants – are exaggerated, but there is no reason to doubt that Guy succeeded in luring to Cyprus numerous settlers from the nearby mainland.²⁴ In later years, leading nobles of the Second Kingdom owned also lands in Cyprus²⁵ – and these fallback positions on the island probably weakened their dependence on the possessions they held on the mainland, and surely became essential with the gradual loss of the mainland to the Mamluks. Likewise, we may suppose that from the 1260s onward, each conquest by Baybars and Qalāwūn triggered a wave of Frankish commoners seeking refuge in Cyprus.²⁶ In sum, the Second Kingdom, unlike the First, faced from the very start a neighbouring Latin entity that attracted many of its Frankish (as well as some Eastern Christian) inhabitants. And in 1204 there came into existence a much larger neighbouring entity of this kind – the Latin Empire of Constantinople, that may have lured only a few of the Second Kingdom's inhabitants, yet which competed with it for immigrants from the West. The occasional, limited military help from Cyprus to the Second Kingdom²⁷ did

not offset the disadvantages that ensued for it from this substantial Latin expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean.

To what extent was the initial exodus to Cyprus, promoted by Guy of Lusignan, balanced by an influx of newcomers to the Second Kingdom on the mainland? Jean Richard emphasised “the arrival of new elements,” from the Third Crusade onward. Focusing on the nobility, he claimed that the list of the barons of the Second Kingdom was completely different from that of the First.²⁸ Yet there is also evidence for the influx of commoners from the West. Innocent III, in a letter of 1200, laid down that frail and indigent people who had taken the cross should be allowed to redeem their vows, because otherwise they would become beggars in the Holy Land; on the other hand, craftsmen and peasants, capable of gaining their livelihood there and serving the Holy Land’s needs, may go East – but not too many should do so, since both land and population were scarce there.²⁹ Similarly, in 1267, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Guillaume of Agen, instructed Amauri de La Roche, preceptor of the Temple in France, to see to it that the pope and the legates of France and Sicily prevent the poor and the old, as well as those who lack arms, to make the passage to the East. The patriarch argued that their arrival would harm the country; unable to carry arms, they would be captured or killed by the Saracens, or renege on their Christian faith. Therefore, special officials, to be installed in the various harbours, were to prevent their passage.³⁰ Evidently, there were commoners who wished to go east: of the 453 persons who in 1250 sailed on the *Sanctus Victor* wishing to join Louis IX’s crusade, 342 were commoners.³¹

Some quantitative data that imply an influx of new immigrants from Europe to the Second Kingdom in its early years have been assembled and analysed by Iris Shagrir in her *Naming Patterns in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* – one of the most innovative studies in our field in recent years. On the basis of a database consisting of the personal names of about 6,200 individuals recorded in the kingdom’s charters, she established that whereas from 1100 to 1189 homonymity increased, the trend was reversed in the years 1190–1219. She concluded that this reversal probably reflects the arrival, around the turn of the thirteenth century, of newcomers who brought new names into the kingdom’s repertory.³² Still another vindication of one of Richard’s ideas.

The expansion of walled-in urban areas during the Second Kingdom suggests that the Frankish population was now more concentrated in towns than during the First Kingdom. Montmusard, Acre’s large northern suburb, was surrounded by a wall between 1198 and 1212, as David Jacoby has convincingly shown.³³ At Caymont, the castle that Saladin gave to Balian of Ibelin in 1192,³⁴ segments of a very large suburb have been unearthed. It was enclosed by a wall, partly by a double wall. The castle still awaits excavation; but an aerial photograph shows that it was a quadrangle with corner towers.³⁵ Under the walls of ‘Atlit’s castle, a large suburb, protected by a wall, sprang up after 1218.³⁶ And in Jaffa in 1253–1254, so relates Joinville, King Louis IX fortified a new suburb, extending all around the castle;³⁷ recent excavations allow to trace the line of the suburb’s walls at a considerable distance from the castle.³⁸

We may also hypothesise that in the Second Kingdom, restricted during much of its existence to a strip along the coast, the proportion of Franks versus non-Franks was higher than in the First Kingdom, which comprised large areas settled by Muslims, Eastern Christians, Samaritans, and Jews, or roamed by Bedouins. Similarly, we may hypothesise that in thirteenth-century Acre the proportion of Franks versus Eastern Christians was higher than in twelfth-century Jerusalem. This hypothesis is based on the third and fourth volumes of Denys Pringle's *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*. When we count the ecclesiastical buildings of twelfth-century Jerusalem and thirteenth-century Acre that Pringle discusses there, we learn that the totals are quite similar: 89 in Jerusalem, 83 in Acre. But the ratio of Latin to non-Latin ecclesiastical buildings radically differs:

Table 1.1 Latin, Orthodox, and Eastern Ecclesiastical Buildings in Jerusalem and Acre

	<i>Jerusalem</i>		<i>Acre</i>	
	<i>Number of buildings</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number of buildings</i>	<i>%</i>
Latin	49	55	73	88
Orthodox	25	28	6	7
Eastern	15	17	4	5
Total	89	100	83	100

Source: Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vols. 3–4.

Thus, in Jerusalem, the Latin ecclesiastical buildings constitute just 55 percent of the total, in Acre 88 percent. Evidently, the capital of the Second Kingdom was of a considerably more Occidental character than the capital of the First Kingdom.³⁹ On the other hand, Frankish Acre, unlike Frankish Jerusalem, had in its midst a Jewish community; many of its members immigrated from the Christian West.⁴⁰

Let me conclude this discussion of demography with a remark on the character of the Second Kingdom's, especially Acre's, population. As is well known, contemporaries like Jacques of Vitry, bishop of Acre,⁴¹ and Eudes of Châteauroux, papal legate on Louis IX's first crusade, decried Acre's inhabitants as sinful and degenerate,⁴² while in later years, Burchard of Mount Zion highlighted the presence of murderers, bandits, and adulterers in their midst, sent from Europe to do penance in the Holy Land or fleeing there to escape punishment.⁴³ To this array of condemnations in Latin and Old French, one may add an analogous assessment in Hebrew. Manuello Romano (1261–1328), a poet who wrote both in Hebrew and in Italian, and in whose days the Mamluks conquered Acre, explained:

ומדוע נשחת עכו? כי השחית כל בשר את דרכו

[“And what caused Acre's crash? Its corruption of all flesh.”]⁴⁴

But was this dark view of the inhabitants of Outremer restricted to the Second Kingdom? By no means. Writing a few months after the fall of Jerusalem in October 1187, the English chronicler and biblical commentator Radulf Niger asserted

that the Latin populace of *Palestina* consists of crime-polluted men who chose to flee to it; with the crimes of all countries coagulating in their land, transgressions went on there unrestrained.⁴⁵ The assertion is surely exaggerated, but not groundless. Already in 1119, Pope Calixtus II decreed at the Council of Reims that he who kills a man during a Truce of God, or commits arson at any time, must – if unmarried – become a monk, or go to Jerusalem.⁴⁶ Similar decisions were taken by other councils, and one of them, that of the Second Lateran General Council in 1139, made its way into Gratian's *Concordantia Discordantium Canonum*.⁴⁷ We encounter also cases of actual banishment to the First Kingdom, for instance of Thomas Becket's murderers. In other words – remembering the decree at the Council of Reims – we may indeed assume that there were in the kingdom people who chose to forget that Reims had been their place of birth and presented themselves as citizens of Tyre, though not necessarily for the lofty reason mentioned in Fulcher of Chartres' famous passage, namely, that

God had transferred the West into the East, Occidentals had been turned into Orientals, and he who was a citizen of Reims had been made a citizen of Tyre. . . .⁴⁸

However, those of us who are not latter-day moralisers, or addicted to the sanctimonial, reverential approach to crusading, may ask whether the arrival of some such people in Outremer was necessarily detrimental to it. One may argue that non-conformist, strong-willed, aggressive individuals who blatantly deviate from the norms governing a long-established society may be an asset for a new entity that struggles to survive in challenging circumstances.

No less a man than Bernard of Clairvaux understood these dynamics when he observed that the people who flock together in Jerusalem had been mostly crime-polluted robbers, homicides, and adulterers, whose departure caused a twofold joy: in the West, for getting rid of them; in the East, for providing much-needed assistance.⁴⁹

Let me turn now, briefly, to commerce. A text attributed to Matthew Paris recounts that Richard of Cornwall learned from Templars and Hospitallers – evidently during his sojourn in the kingdom in 1240–1241 – that Acre brought in 50,000 pounds sterling annually to its lord⁵⁰ – a huge sum when we remember that the English Crown's annual cash incomes averaged between 1241 and 1245 only about 36,500 pounds a year.⁵¹ Christopher Tyerman has argued that Acre's great wealth allowed the rulers of the Second Kingdom to maintain a military force that resembled that of the much larger First Kingdom: at the Battle of La Forbie in 1244, 600 Frankish knights are said to have fought,⁵² whereas the baronies and cities of the First Kingdom at its apogee owed the service of 675 knights.⁵³ Now, what was the source of the Second Kingdom's economic vigour in about 1240? Eliyahu Ashtor, a leading expert on the medieval Levant trade, collected data that suggest that while in the years 1151–1175 the volume of Venetian and Genoese trade with Egypt exceeded that of the trade with the First Kingdom, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, Venetian and Genoese trade with the much smaller and weaker Second Kingdom surpassed the one with Egypt, and this trend continued until the mid-thirteenth century.

Table 1.2 Venetian and Genoese Investments in the Levant Trade, 1126–1275

Date	Venetian Trade (in l. ven.) with		Genoese Trade (in l. jan.) with	
	Outremer	Egypt	Outremer	Egypt
1101–1125	720			
1126–1150	1,754	127.5		
1151–1175	725	2,994	6,808	9,550
1176–1200	1,326	2,608	16,010.4	2,285.85
1201–1225	3,411	2,878.5	21,633.5	4,567.8
1226–1250			44,138	
1251–1275			118,925	

Source: Ashtor, “Il regno dei crociati e il commercio di Levante,” Tabella III.

Ashtor ascribed this reversal, which benefited Acre, to more stable conditions in the Caliphate, which allowed for the safe conveyance of spices via Iraq to the Mediterranean, and to the rise in custom dues in Ayyubid Egypt.⁵⁴ Yet this commercial prominence of Acre (and Tyre) diminished when trans-Asiatic trade, galvanised by the rise of the Mongol Empire, found new outlets in the Black Sea ports and in Armenian Cilicia. Nevertheless, as Michel Balard has shown, Acre continued to function as a commercial centre down to its fall in 1291.⁵⁵

The oft-quoted statement attributed to Matthew Paris, according to which Acre brought in 50,000 pounds sterling annually to its lord,⁵⁶ should however be read alongside the preceding assertion concerning Damascus: “Ceste cité . . . vaut chascun iur au seigneur de la vile cinc cenx livres de esterlings.”⁵⁷ This means that the yearly income of the Lord of Damascus amounted to $500 \times 365 = 182,500$ pounds sterling! If the assertions regarding Damascus and Acre are reliable, commercially robust Frankish Acre brought in less than a third of the sum raised in Damascus at that time – and this Damascene revenue exceeded several times the English Crown’s annual cash income.

Let me conclude with a comment on holy places, with regard to which the difference between the capitals of the First and Second Kingdoms could not have been greater. Jerusalem was *the* holy city, replete with biblical memories, the goal of crusading and, in the twelfth century, a goal of pilgrimage more attractive than Rome.⁵⁸ Acre, on the other hand, is mentioned just once in the Old Testament – as a town the Israelites did not conquer (Judges 1:31) – and just once in the New Testament: according to Acts 21:7 Paul spent in Ptolemais one day, on his way to Jerusalem, yet no site in Frankish Acre is known to have been associated with him. Still, as we have seen, Acre possessed a large number of ecclesiastical buildings – and in about 1260 an attempt was made to attract pilgrims to Acre by granting indulgences for visiting 39 of its churches, as well as for just reaching the city’s edge. This attempt is attested by the text known as the *Pardouns de Acres*; Beatrice Saletti, who has recently studied it, argues that the emphasis on the Order of Saint Thomas the Martyr and the Anglo-Normanisms of the text point to an English author.⁵⁹ Now, this document promises 185 years



Figure 1.1 Fragment of a stone cross found near Acre's eastern wall

Source: Courtesy of the late Professor Moshe Dotan.

of remission of penance for arriving in Acre and visiting the 39 churches; the range is from 40 days to 15 years per church, the average being 4.6 years.⁶⁰ In comparative perspective, these are extravagant promises. In 1255, Pope Alexander IV granted a one hundred days' indulgence to those visiting the Church of Saint Francis in Acre within the octave of the feasts of Saint Francis, Saint Antony, and Saint Clare;⁶¹ about the same time, our *Pardouns* grant for the visit of the same place, at any date, 300 days.⁶² And while Pope Nicholas IV was to grant in 1288 one year and 40 days for visiting the Church of Saint John of the Hospitallers in Acre,⁶³ our *Pardouns* promise no less than eight years for

visiting the Hospital and add 40 days for each time one encircles the *paleis de malades*¹⁶⁴ And the 15 years the *Pardouns* promise, in about 1260, to visitors of Saint Thomas in Acre,¹⁶⁵ become truly astounding when we remember that Pope Alexander IV granted in 1260 to all those who visited San Pietro in Rome, on 25 April, the Feast of Saint Mark, just two years and 80 days' remission of penance!¹⁶⁶ In sum, we may regard the *Pardouns de Acres* as a desperate attempt to promote pilgrimage to a city whose role in sacred history was negligible. And the attempt illustrates a wider phenomenon: the Second Kingdom was a rump entity not only because of its shrunk territorial dimensions but also because of its vastly reduced hold on the country's holy places, a kingdom that came into being after the loss of the True Cross. The broken stone cross (Figure 1.1), which Moshe Dothan unearthed in 1976 while unsuspectingly excavating the eastern wall of thirteenth-century Acre, may serve as the Second Kingdom's emblem.

Notes

- 1 On this gradual expansion see the brief remark of Jean Richard, *Le Royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), 133; Idem, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, trans. Janet Shirley (Amsterdam, 1979), 165.
- 2 Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Fourth Crusade's Second Front," in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences. La IVe Croisade et ses conséquences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Paris, 2005), 89–110, at 100–3, repr. in Idem, *Crusaders and Franks: Studies in the History of the Crusades and the Frankish Levant* (London and New York, 2016), Study XV.
- 3 See for instance Jean Richard, *Histoire des croisades* (Paris, 1996), 323–42, with map on p. 336.
- 4 See Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006), 721–22. Funds collected for the Fourth Crusade served for rebuilding the walls of Tyre, Beirut and Acre: Kedar, "The Fourth Crusade's Second Front," 91–94.
- 5 Filippo da Novara, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223–1242)*, c. 124, ed. and trans. Silvio Melani (Napoli, 1994), 220.
- 6 *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur*, in *RHC Oc* 2: 432; see Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1993–2009), 2:351.
- 7 See most recently Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Iberia y el reino franco de Jerusalén," *Ad Limina. Revista de investigación del Camino de Santiago y las peregrinaciones* 8 (2017): 50–56.
- 8 The defeat has been masterfully analysed by Ilya Berkovich, "The Battle of Forbie and the Second Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Journal of Military History* 75 (2011): 9–44.
- 9 *Cart Hosp*, 2:673–74, no. 2482.
- 10 Claude Mutaftian, *L'Arménie du Levant (XIe–XIVe siècle)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2012), 1:140–47; Thomas S.R. Boase, "The History of the Kingdom," in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. Thomas S.R. Boase (Edinburgh and London, 1978), 25–26.
- 11 *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314). La caduta degli Stati Crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare*, §67, ed. Laura Minervini (Napoli, 2000), 82. This account must not be believed literally: it is hardly probable that all of the city's mosques were desecrated in this manner. For an attempt to discount the account see Dominique Sourdel, "Bohémond et les chrétiens à Damas sous l'occupation mongole," in *Dei gesta*

- per Francos. Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, ed. Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), 295–99 (the author upgrades Hülegü to Grand Khan).
- 12 Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Paris, 2001), 2: 426–28.
- 13 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd ed. (London, 2005), 241.
- 14 Joshua Prawer, “Estates, Communities, and the Constitution of the Latin Kingdom,” in Idem, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), 46–82 (originally published in 1966); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973).
- 15 See Benjamin Z. Kedar, “The Tractatus de locis et statu terre sancte ierosolimitane,” in *Crusade Sources*, 125; repr. in Idem, *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant: Studies in Frontier Acculturation* (Aldershot, 2006), Study II.
- 16 Richard, *Le Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 133; Idem, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 165 (the English translation is inexact).
- 17 Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 10th ed. (Stuttgart, 2005), 191.
- 18 Richard, *Le Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 228; Idem, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 281–82.
- 19 Christopher J. Marshall, “The French Regiment in the Latin East, 1254–91,” *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989): 301–7.
- 20 John H. Pryor, “In subsidium Terrae Sanctae: Exports of Foodstuffs and War Materials from the Kingdom of Sicily to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1265–1284,” *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988): 127–46.
- 21 Richard, *Le Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 228; Idem, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 282.
- 22 Cyril Aslanov, *Evidence of Francophony in Medieval Levant: Decipherment and Interpretation. MS Paris BnF copte 43* (Jerusalem, 2006), 180–84; Idem, *Le français au Levant, jadis et naguère. A la recherche d’une langue perdue* (Paris, 2006), 33–108.
- 23 *Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), 286–87; *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, ed. M. Ruth Morgan, Documents relatifs à l’histoire des croisades 14 (Paris, 1982), 139; *L’Etoile de Eracles Empereur*, variants C and G, in *RHC Oc* 2:188–89. See also Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1852–61) 1:41–46.
- 24 Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), 16–19.
- 25 Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 68–70, 79.
- 26 Michel Balard, “Les Orientaux en Chypre au début du XIV^e siècle,” in Idem, *Les marchands italiens à Chypre* (Nicosia, 2007), 196.
- 27 Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 80, 89, 92–93, 98–99.
- 28 Richard, *Le Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 207, 228–29; Idem, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 257, 282.
- 29 X 3.34.8; see *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879–81), 2:593–94.
- 30 Letter edited by Gustave Servois, “Emprunts de saint Louis en Palestine et en Afrique. Appendice,” *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes* 19 (1858): 293; re-edited in *Projets de croisade (v. 1290–v. 1330)*, ed. Jacques Paviot (Paris, 2008), 44–46.
- 31 Benjamin Z. Kedar, “The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: Toward the History of the Popular Element on the Seventh Crusade,” *Studi Medievali* 13/1 (1972): 271–75.
- 32 Iris Shagrir, *Naming Patterns in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2003), 39.
- 33 David Jacoby, “Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre: The First Stage of its Development,” in *Outremer*, 212–13.
- 34 *Chronique d’Ernoul*, 293; *L’Etoile de Eracles Empereur*, in *RHC Oc* 2: 198, variant version.

- 35 Yuval Portugali, “The City Plan of Yoqne‘am in the Crusader Period,” in *Yoqne‘am I: The Late Periods*, ed. Amnon Ben-Tor *et al.*, Qedem Reports 3 (Jerusalem, 1996), 47; aerial photo on p. 10.
- 36 Johns 1932, repr. in Johns, ed. Pringle, 1997, Ch. II.
- 37 Jean, sire de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint-Louis, Credo et Lettre à Louis X*, §517, ed. Natalis de Wailly, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1874), 284.
- 38 Benjamin Z. Kedar, “The Outer Walls of Frankish Jaffa,” in Idem, *Crusaders and Franks*, XVI, 1–9.
- 39 Cf. Benjamin Z. Kedar, “Review of Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Corpus*, vols. 3–4,” in *Israel Exploration Journal* 60 (2010): 122–24.
- 40 See Jonathan Rubin, *Learning in a Crusader City: Intellectual Activity and Intercultural Exchanges in Acre, 1191–1291* (Cambridge, 2018), 37–47, 57–61.
- 41 Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale. Historia orientalis*, ed. and trans. Jean Donnadieu (Turnhout, 2008), chapters lxx–lxxiii, 280–94.
- 42 Eudes of Châteauroux says in a sermon: “fugiunt multi ad heremum ut egyptiaca vel ad monasteria vel ad partes ultramarinas, ut habeant minorem occasionem peccandi. Sed pro dolor aliqui plures inveniunt ibi occasiones peccandi quam in patria sua et ubi debent sanctificari a peccatis ibi amplius inquinantur.” BnF lat. 15959, fol. 208rb. Joinville reports that Eudes told him: “No one knows as well as I do of the shameful sins that are committed in the city of Acre; that is why it must come about that God will avenge them by washing the city of Acre in the blood of its inhabitants, and then other people will come to live there.” Jean, sire de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint-Louis*, 219.
- 43 Burchard of Mount Sion, “Description of the Holy Land,” *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, trans. Denys Pringle (London and New York, 2010), 314.
- 44 *Mahbarot Immanuel ha-Romi* [The Cantos of Manuello Romano] 6.401, ed. Dov Yarden, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1957), 1:122.
- 45 Radulfus Niger, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis ierosolimitanae* (1187/88), III. 84, ed. Ludwig Schmugge (Berlin and New York, 1977), 194. For a recent study of this topos see Martin Aurell, *Des chrétiens contre les croisades, XII^e–XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 2013), 85–86, 152–54, 264, 304, 338–40.
- 46 “Statutum Calisti papae II De trevia Dei editum in concilio Remensi 1119,” in Mansi, *Concilia* 21:237A.
- 47 C. 23 q. 8 c. 32; see *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, 1: 964–65.
- 48 Foucher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 3.37, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 748.
- 49 Bernard de Clairvaux, *Éloge de la Nouvelle Chevalerie*, V.10, ed. and trans. Pierre-Yves Emery, Sources Chrétiennes 367 (Paris, 1990), 76–77. The editor remarks (p. 22) that the Templar order “prend ici un petit air de Légion étrangère!” Mayer believes that the portrayal of the Holy Land, by Bernard and by Burchard of Mount Zion, as a kind of penal colony does violence to the historical reality: Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 190.
- 50 “Légendes de l’itinéraire de Londres à Jérusalem,” in *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français au XI^e, XII^e, & XIII^e siècles*, eds. Henri Michelant and Gaston Raynaud (Genève, 1882), 137.
- 51 See David A. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066–1284* (London and New York, 2004), 312.
- 52 Tyerman, *God’s War*, 717, 970 n.10.
- 53 John of Ibelin, *Le Livre des Assises*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Leiden, 2003), 607–14. To these 675 one should however add the Knights Templar and Hospitaller.
- 54 Eliyahu Ashtor, “Il regno dei crociati e il commercio di Levante,” in *I Comuni italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. Gabriella Airaldi and Benjamin Z. Kedar

- (Genova, 1986), 37–43. Ashtor remarks that the trend reversal had been assumed by earlier historians, but it was he who adduced quantitative proofs. Cf. Adolf Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebietes bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (München and Berlin, 1906), 169, 190–91; Claude Cahen, *Orient et Occident au temps des Croisades* ((Paris, 1983), 192.
- 55 Michel Balard, *Les Latins en Orient, XI^e – XV^e siècle* (Paris, 2006), 246–51.
- 56 “Ceste vile [=Acre] vaut a sun segnur chescun an cinquante mile livres d’argent.” “Légendes de l’itinéraire de Londres à Jérusalem,” 137.
- 57 “This city . . . is worth every day 500 pounds sterling to its lord.” Idem, 127.
- 58 See Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge, 1998), 150–86.
- 59 Fabio Romanini and Beatrice Saletti, eds., *I Pelrinages communes, I Pardouns de Acre e la crisi del regno crociato. Storia e testi* (Padova, 2012), 90–93.
- 60 See Table 1 in Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 4:22. When we combine the data for the 40 locations, we arrive at 178 years and 2,605 days.
- 61 See Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’Oriente francescano*, vol. 1: 1215–1300 (Quaracchi, 1906), 234, no. 64; Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 4:21.
- 62 Romanini and Saletti, eds., *I Pardouns de Acre*, 155.
- 63 *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Ernest Langlois, 9 vols. (Paris, 1886–93), 1:64, no. 334; Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 4:21.
- 64 Romanini and Saletti, eds., *I Pardouns de Acre*, 151.
- 65 Romanini and Saletti, eds., *I Pardouns de Acre*, 155.
- 66 Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages*, 196.

2 The statutes of the Italian brotherhood of the Holy Spirit in Acre

“Italian” interactions between East and West during the Fifth Crusade

Beatrice Saletti

This chapter concerns Italians in Acre at the beginning of the thirteenth century. More precisely, it focuses on the Italian brotherhood of the Holy Spirit, about which very little is known apart from its statutes of 1216 and the fact that the bishop of Acre, Jacques de Vitry, approved them in 1220. The purpose of the chapter is not to reveal unpublished documents but to suggest new avenues of research. We are aware of the existence of the statutes of the brotherhood because the renewal of their authorisation (made by Alexander IV in 1255) was written on a register preserved in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, in Rome.¹ The statutes have been known to us for a long time: among others, Hamilton, Prawer, Richard, and Riley-Smith have written about them, while describing the Latin Church in the crusader kingdom, and the social environment in crusader cities.² Since it was not the focus of their investigations, none of those scholars examined the brotherhood statutes in detail.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Christian devotion experienced a profound renewal in which Pope Innocence III and the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) played a major role. The Council set the premises for a radical reform, which included pastoral care, preaching, and the celebration of the sacraments (with particular reference to penance). Until the seventeenth century, the institutions, which are today defined in the code of canon law as confraternities, had many names: *Gilda*, *confraternitas*, *colligatio*, and many others (*sodalitas*, *congregatio*, *schola*, *collegium*, *amicitia*). These terms identified associations that could have very different purposes, such as the management of the lights in a church or the mutual assistance of merchants during their stays abroad. The fact that these associations are given generic names reflects the difficulty of providing an overall reading of this phenomenon and its countless manifestations.³ In the case of the confraternity of the Holy Spirit, there are further difficulties, because:

- 1 The documentation regarding the institution and its members is almost non-existent.
- 2 It is impossible to know, even roughly, the number of Italians living in Acre (in particular, very little is known about Italians who did not belong to the few cities whose institutions were recognised as belonging to Outremer, such as

Venice, Pisa, Genoa, and – later – Ancona). Moreover, we do not even know the extent of the business they conducted (nor in which areas) and this greatly limits the possibility of understanding important features of the brotherhood.

- 3 Throughout the late Middle Ages, Italian brotherhoods with the name Holy Spirit were numerous.⁴ Some of them may have had links (filiation ties, for example) with the brotherhood established in Acre, but since very few documents were published, it is very hard to identify such links.
- 4 One issue which makes research even more difficult is the concept of “brotherhood of the *Italians*.” Until the nineteenth century, Italy remained, as sentenced by Metternich, a “mere geographical expression.” In the thirteenth century, “Italy” would certainly not have been considered the homeland of a Florentine, or a citizen of Bologna, Parma, or anywhere else; instead they would only have seen Florence, Bologna, Parma etc. respectively as their homeland.⁵

Italian chronicles and crusades: the dangers of a fictional narrative

In order better to understand the relationship between Outremer and the Italians, it is useful to consider a specific type of source material: chronicles. As has been noted many times, in many sources, the narration of the Crusades is a continuous reworking, which sometimes tells us more about the cultural and political climate at the time when the chronicles were written than about the veracity of the events they describe. Thus, many legends were born, such as those of the “first crusader,” the first Christian conqueror to enter the city of Jerusalem in 1099. There are three Italian cities that claim this primacy: Milan, Florence, and Prato, none of which, in fact, participated in the event.⁶ It is not easy to weigh the statement in the anonymous *Chronicon Parmense* (datable to the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), which declares that during the capture of Acre many citizens of Parma died, but it never tells of anyone who left Parma in order to take the cross, neither in the eleventh century nor in the following two centuries.⁷ Perhaps with more honesty, many Italian chronicles ignore events in Outremer. A Brescian chronicle, for example, from the year 1291 reports only that the bell tower of the rectory was crenellated.⁸ The oldest Florentine chronicle, that of Sanzanome (written before 1245), does not deal with events taking place overseas, but the chronicle by Giovanni Villani does.⁹ The text does not give information on Florence’s participation overseas during the First Crusade (which, in fact, did not happen), and it refers openly to “the crusade chronicle,” from which Villani took information. However, precisely for this reason it tells us a lot about the categories available to the Florentines of the period. Where Germans, French, and Spaniards can be associated without further specification, this was not the case for Italians: people come from Lombardy, from Romagna, from Puglia, and from Tuscany. Villani even distinguishes between Florentines and other Tuscans. Needless to say, even among Florentines it was possible to distinguish between noble and common people. The distinction is found, for

example, in the controversial chronicle of Riccordano Malaspini (henceforward: *Storia fiorentina*).¹⁰ First attributed to a Riccordano Malispini (who lived in the thirteenth century), the chronicle was later recognised as a late fourteenth-century falsification. According to Scheffer-Boichorst, it was written to glorify some Florentine families on the occasion of the marriage of Averardo de' Medici with a woman from the Bonaguasi family, which occurred in 1370.¹¹ The fact that no chronicle from the Este domains cites the participation of the Este in crusades (as the *Storia fiorentina* does) suggests that a great deal of this passage is fake news. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that false information was created about these issues in the Florence environment. It is also worth noting that, in other chronicles, the involvement of the Este family or its antagonists for the supremacy over Ferrara receives a particular emphasis in the events of Outremer. For example, the only known specimen of the *Historia Imperiale* (a work attributed by some to the chronicler Riccobaldo da Ferrara – who died about 1320 – and which has come to us indirectly in a truncated vulgarisation by Matteo Maria Boiardo) provides a rather disproportionate account of Italian participation in the Third Crusade in the following list: 80 galleys from Venice and Venetian Romania (even though Venice barely participated); one from Ravenna; one from Guglielmo Marchesella (exponent of the Ferrara's Guelph party); seven galleys from the cities of Romagna; 20 from the Marca of Ancona; Abruzzo, Calabria, and the Kingdom of Sicily, a total of 70 galleys; 15 from the papal state, two from Siena, 70 from Pisa, one from Lucca, six from Sardegna, two from Corsica, and 22 ships from Genova.¹²

Shifting our gaze not too far from Ferrara, even chronicles written in the city of Bologna do not seem to provide first-hand accounts. The earliest is the Villola (which ends in 1376). As is the case in the Florentine chronicle, no mention is made of Bolognese participation in the first crusader expeditions. Instead, in 1188 the departure of some 2,000 citizens is recorded, listing the names of 25 crusaders. It is interesting that the later chroniclers Matteo Grifoni († 1426) Francesco Pizolpassi († 1443), and Fileno dalla Tuata († 1521) provide lists with similar wording but that only partially overlap in terms of content. The names that do not match correspond to the names of the respective ancestors of the chroniclers: a clear indication of the importance of recording (or, better, inventing retroactively?) a glorious military career of their own families.¹³ Unfortunately, all chronicles written before the Villola have been lost, and this makes it much more difficult, if not impossible, to find the sources used by both Villola and later chroniclers. Furthermore, the relationship between the chronicles has so far not been addressed.¹⁴ The scarcity of source material makes it difficult to assess some information that could, if authentic, provide new evidence on the relationship between the crown of Jerusalem and some Italian cities; relationships that could have to do with the presence, in the thirteenth century, of Bolognese citizens in Acre. For example, the Villola chronicle records that John of Brienne had a daughter, named Blanche, who accompanied her father to Italy in 1224, lived and died (1226) in Bologna, and was buried in Saint Peter's Cathedral.¹⁵ Fileno dalla Tuata adds that the king "with all the family" (which could also mean his "retinue") lived in the Cathedral

for three years.¹⁶ The chronicle of Matteo Grifoni is the only to report a presumed meeting that would have taken place in 1223, in Ferrara, between Federico II, the Marquis Azzo d'Este, the King of Jerusalem, John of Brienne, and the pope.¹⁷ No chronicles of the Este area refer to the event. Like other Italian houses, the Este had attempted to forge dynastic relations with overseas sovereigns. In 1204 Alice, the daughter of Rinald of Châtillon, married Azzo VI, the Marquis of Ferrara. Since then, we know of no other ties. What reason would the king have for going to Ferrara? And, of more interest, did John of Brienne go to Ferrara or not? The opinion of Giovan Battista Pigna (1529–1575), archivist at the Este court and historian, is that he did not.¹⁸ It would be very useful to know, however, why chroniclers inserted such information. Who released the news about Blanche of Brienne? The political identity of several Italian urban centres was also created on the basis of the spiritual legitimisation which comes both from the holiness of Jerusalem and from the spiritual prestige of participation in the Crusades. This kind of legitimisation also operated on an individual level, or rather a genealogical one, as the crusaders' lists of the Bolognese chroniclers demonstrate (Dante himself quotes a member of his family who died taking part in the Crusade, Cacciaguida). Nevertheless, the modalities and efficiency of these symbolic and political connections are, for many areas of the Italian peninsula, yet to be investigated.

Too many Italian homelands: a complex brotherhood identity

The brotherhood of the Holy Spirit was open to laymen and clerics, be they tonsured or not, and its goal was to save the souls of its members. The brothers supported each other: for example, if a brother was ill, the brotherhood provided for his livelihood with a daily supply of money. Rules like these were common to several other medieval brotherhoods. However, some features of this brotherhood concerned situations typical overseas, present also in the statutes of military orders: they contemplated redemption if a brother was captured by the Saracens, and the management of the possessions of brothers who died while sailing to or living in the Holy Land.¹⁹ The brotherhood had its own banner, and foresaw the use of weapons *pro succursu Terre Sancte*.

In 1971, Riley Smith warned against making a connection between the Holy Spirit hospital and the brotherhood, since the only evidence in this regard is the homonymy between the brotherhood and the hospital, pertaining to the Cruciferous friars.²⁰ However, as recently as 2009 Pringle hypothesised that the brotherhood had links with the house of the Holy Spirit.²¹ Bologna has a strong connection with the order, because very early the city became the provincial seat of the *Ordo cruciferorum*.²² Maybe it is not a coincidence that one of the rectors of the brotherhood was from Bononia. Moreover, in 1220, during the Damietta campaign, the leaders of the Bolognese army granted the Cruciferous friars some houses conquered in war, received for the order by the presbyter Ostesano Malelonze.²³

In any case, I did not find any other kinds of link between the brotherhood and the Cruciferous order, nor between brothers and friars. Moreover, in the *Statuta*, chapter 4, while requiring the brothers to meet on the first Sunday of every month

to hear a mass, the expression used is “in one place,” without any reference to a specific location (such as the cruciferous house): the brother has to be informed about the place each time.

In 1216, the brotherhood had three rectors: Petrus Parmensis and Rolandus Florentinus, both goldsmiths, and Aldebrandus Bononiensis, whose profession is not indicated. The latter may have been the man of the same name among the witnesses of the aforementioned notarial deed of 1220: Aldrebandino de Riosto.

In the *Statuta*, the brotherhood is also called *societas peregrinorum Ytalie*. Yet, Italy was not a whole, harmonious entity. To list just a few of the many military campaigns of the period, in 1218 Reggio Emilia, Cremona, and Parma fought Milan, in 1220 Verona, Modena, and Ferrara fought against Mantua, and in 1222 Bologna and Faenza besieged Imola. Several times in his chronicle, the minor friar Salimbene de Adam from Parma qualifies people from Florence with these words: “more Florentinorum, trufator maximus.”²⁴ So, why would a Bolognese, a Florentine, and someone from Parma want to join together in a single brotherhood? Perhaps it was the continuous tension between communities that made it so effective, even in Italy, to choose Innocent III to put the resolution of civil and political conflicts at the heart of the preaching of the crusade. Unfortunately, Salimbene, who through a story from his father could provide testimonies about a community of Italian crusaders, devotes only a few lines to the subject. Before Salimbene’s birth, his father had participated in the Fourth Crusade. In his story, he does not refer to a specifically Parmense community, but to people from *Lombardy*, that is, northern Italy except Venice:

Fuit autem dictus pater meus Guido de Adam, pulcher homo et fortis, qui aliquando transfretavit pro Terre Sancte succursu tempore Balduini comitis Flandrie . . . , et ego necdum natus eram.²⁵

Proudly, Salimbene reports that the father’s horse, sent overseas by Parma, had been rated the best of *sua societate*. The sequence, too vague, does not allow us to know which *societas* Salimbene refers to (crusaders from Parma or northern Italy, or even elsewhere). Even Salimbene came into direct contact with Outremer, albeit in a different way from his father: on 9 October 1220, Balian, the Lord of Sidone, became his godfather, at his baptism in Parma. Balian had come to Italy to meet the emperor, and at his side was Friar Andrea, a Franciscan stationed in Acre.²⁶

During his journey by ship from Genoa to Acre, Bishop Jacques de Vitry wrote a lively letter describing the faithful whom he had occasion to meet in Italy. The resulting picture is composite and full of contradictions. Milan is a den of Patarine heretics, but there are also men and women leading a good and holy life. Jacques arrives in Perugia when Pope Innocent III has just died, and his body has been stripped by sacrilegious thieves. Yet in the city, he also meets followers of Saint Francis, whom he describes with admiration. He stays the entire month of September 1216 in Genoa. As soon as he arrives, local officers commandeer his horses, as was usual during war emergencies, and this greatly irritates the bishop.

Here Jacques preaches primarily to women and children, and many women take the cross. With a certain dose of irony, the bishop describes it as a kind of revenge: “you take the horses from me, I make your wives take the cross.”²⁷

There are many studies concerning the presence of Italian people in the Crusader Kingdom.²⁸ Nevertheless, we know almost nothing about cities other than Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, cities less involved in Mediterranean trade or in crusade expeditions. The fundamental importance which, after 1192, Italian municipalities and military orders assume to keep the kingdom of Jerusalem alive, is a universally recognised fact. Italians provide the most significant percentage of military and merchant navy; yet this provision always comes exclusively from the Maritime Republics.²⁹

The statutes of the brotherhood

Since the text of the statutes is easily accessible both in the Brepols online database *Ut per litteras apostolicas* and in the previous edition by de la Roncière et al of 1902, I do not propose an edition as part of this chapter. The statutes comprise 18 chapters, some of which contain information relating to multiple issues. Four chapters contain administrative rules, five chapters spiritual rules, seven relate to care, four to military subjects, and one concerns conduct among confreres. I will begin by describing the administrative chapters. Chapter 9 specifies that the faithful must pay 12 *denarii* to rectors in order to enter the brotherhood, and that a two-*soldi* fee must be paid each year, one to be paid on Christmas day, the other on Easter day. These sums, it is clarified, are necessary to obtain weapons to be used for the recovery of the Holy Land. Chapter 13 deals with the possibility that a brother wants to dispose of his goods, both in life and in death. In this case, the brother must communicate the content of his disposition to the rectors, or, at least to another brother. This passage is not easy to understand. Is there a possibility that a member of the brotherhood may not want to dispose of his goods in life? Nonetheless, the deceased brother's property and *familia* will go into the custody of the rectors, unless the dead brother has expressly prohibited it. Chapter 15 refers to all previous chapters, declaring that the rectors – both individually and together – are expected to provide for them the best they can, with the help of the councillors of the brotherhood (the number of councillors is not specified). If a brother has been sent somewhere by the rectors and suffers physical or financial damages during the mission, the rectors are to decide the amount of compensation to be given to him (Chapter 16). Assistance is the main theme throughout the statutes. Chapter 2 contains a generic commitment for all brothers to help each other both in good luck and in bad. Chapter 3 addresses the issue of illness and the death of a brother. In the event that the ill brother cannot look after himself, the brotherhood will pay him six *denarii* per day until he is healed. If he dies and does not leave behind any money, the brotherhood will provide for the burial. All the brothers present will be required to attend the funeral and to offer one *denaro* and a candle. Those absent must send two *denarii* to the brotherhood. Chapter 4 states that each brother should pay a *denaro* every first Sunday of the month (absentees

are required to send the same). Chapter 5 foresees the case of the capture of a brother by the Saracens. If he has not shared any part of his property, each brother must pay 6 *denari* for his ransom. If, on the other hand, he placed money (statutes use the generic term *aliquid*) in the brotherhood common fund, he will receive a 10 Saracen *bisanti* payout from this fund, and following his release he will be given 4 *denari*, because he should not be forced to beg. Chapter 6 provides for the case of a brother who is healthy but in extreme need. In this case, the rectors will investigate his character and his activities, and having consulted the councillors, after receiving a reasonable guarantee from him, they will meet the needs of the brother.

Chapter 10 deals with the case of a brother dying overseas. The confrere should leave 4 Saracen *bisanti* to the brotherhood for someone to fight on his behalf. However, being a significant sum of money, the statutes establish that he should pay what he can. Another 5 *soldi* (if they can be found) should also be allocated to the common fund. Chapter 14 provides for the case of a brother who falls ill anywhere in Syrian lands. If he can be transferred to a place where most of the brothers reside, then the conditions laid out in Chapter 3 may apply, that is economic support for the ill brother, from the brotherhood in the form of six *soldi* a day.

I will now address the spiritual responsibilities of the brotherhood's members. Chapter 1 requires that each brother recite seven *Pater noster* daily for the living and the dead. Chapter 3 states that all members of the brotherhood are required to sing 12 *Pater noster* for the soul of the deceased brother. Chapter 4 foresees a regular meeting of the brothers every first Sunday of the month, in a place to be indicated by the rectors, to hear a mass in honour of the Holy Spirit. Chapter 11 provides that the brotherhood's dead be recorded as soon as possible in the brotherhood's *matricula mortuorum*, that special masses are held to celebrate them and, as already established by Chapter 3, that brothers recite 12 *Pater* for each one. Chapter 12 specifically concerns the penalties of Purgatory imposed on deceased brothers: the living members must take charge, dividing a portion of the penance among them. The rules regarding military activities can be found in chapters 8, 10, 17, and 18. Chapter 8 requires each brother to have his own weapons, for the relief of the Holy Land, for the honour of the brotherhood and for his own honour. If this is not possible, brothers going to fight under the brotherhood's banner may use the weapons of the brotherhood, to be returned as soon as they return from battle. Chapter 10 requires that upon death, for the salvation of his soul, a brother leave some of his weapons to the brotherhood (whether or not he dies overseas). Chapter 17 provides for the case of a brother who leaves the battlefield without the permission of the rectors. This action is deemed so serious that not only will the brother be banished from the brotherhood without any possibility of reinstatement, but his weapons (if it is possible to recover them) will also be publicly burned. Chapter 18 foresees that brothers who succeed in appropriating enemy goods or persons will divide their spoils in the following way: a third for themselves; a third for the brotherhood common fund; and a third to be distributed among the brothers, among whom the experts in fighting (knights, turcoples, and others not further specified) will receive more than "common" fighters do.

Chapter 7 is the only chapter to deal with human relationships within the brotherhood, or instances of discord between brothers. Once reported to the rectors by one of the two brothers involved, rectors should resolve the issue by telling the brothers what to do to make peace. In the event that the brother fails three times to obey, he will be excluded from the brotherhood until he agrees to obey.

The Holy Spirit brotherhood in context

Acre was conquered in 1104, taken by Saladin in 1187, and retaken by Richard the Lionheart in 1191. Then it became the new capital of the Crusader Kingdom, which by then had been reduced to a discontinuous shred of land on the coast. Thanks to the presence of Italian merchants, soon after its recovery, Acre further strengthened its role as a commercial hub between Europe and two key locations: the Syrian-Palestinian inland and Egypt. After the Mongol invasion of Syria, the flow of trade to and from Outremer underwent a profound reduction; in practice, the golden age of Acre is limited to about 50 years. Needless to say that the relevance of the capital is not limited to finance and commerce: recently Jonathan Rubin shed further light on Acre as a place of cultural production.³⁰ As a capital, the city rapidly needed new provisions, such as administrative headquarters and buildings to house all the refugees who had escaped from Saladin. This resulted in feverish building activity, which has been widely studied.³¹ Among the city's new architectural features, Adrian Boas observes that Acre had borrowed some aspects typical of Italian cities of the time, such as towers.³² Acre was also a multi-ethnic city. Perhaps too much so for its bishop, Jacques de Vitry, who, when he settled there in November 1216, called it a nine-headed monster.³³

In his impressive work about brotherhoods in Europe from the Carolingian age to the sixteenth century, Meerseman also addresses military brotherhoods, but none were active in Italy at the time of the creation of the Holy Spirit brotherhood in Acre.³⁴ Among these he describes the Spanish brotherhood of Barbastro (1138), established by the bishop, whose members had the task of rebuilding the city, which had been destroyed by the Saracens, as well as watching over it and defending it with weapons. Outside of Spain, within the European context the military objectives of Christian associations were essentially the eradication of heretics; in 1220 the *militia* of the faith of Jesus Christ, which fought the Albigensian heresy, was already active in some castles in Languedoc. Likewise, in Parma in 1233 the Dominican Bartolomeo di Breganze established the *militia* of Jesus Christ, to oppose militarily the supporters of the Patarine heresy and of Frederick II. Both the rule of the *militia* of Jesus Christ and that of the *militia* of the Virgin Mary were inspired by the Augustinian *militia*. In addition to issuing detailed moral precepts, both *militie* imposed dress codes and food restrictions. The practice of prayer was also regulated: the members of the *militia* of Jesus Christ must recite 7 *Pater* each canonical hour. In comparison to these, the Holy Spirit brotherhood of Acre seems much less demanding: no dress code, no food restrictions, no mention of community life, only 7 *Pater* a day. As Jean Richard has already noted (in 1985), "most of the brotherhoods had a national or ethnic character." He referred

to Spaniards and Melkites, but as for the Italian brotherhood of the Holy Spirit, he remarked that members seemed to be “the Italians other than those in the maritime towns.”³⁵ At the time, neither Bologna nor Florence or Parma possessed in Outremer an organised, powerful community like those of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, which in their own quarters could enjoy their own churches. Ancona would not have the capability to erect its own church until some decades later.³⁶ Now, in Chapter 4 of the statutes of the brotherhood, on the topic of monthly Mass, it is clearly stated that all brothers who are able to, must participate (*omnes de societate qui poterunt*). The phrase *omnes qui poterunt* is an indication that members could reside anywhere, and may only occasionally have found themselves overseas. Even the sharing of goods was subject to considerable flexibility, since Chapter 5 provides for different methods of intervention depending on whether the brother captured by the Muslims had put his belongings in a common lot with the other members of the brotherhood or not. Chapter 8 seems indifferent both to the possession of weapons and to participation in war enterprises. In short, even fighting seems optional.

Yet, Riley-Smith declared the brotherhood “clearly a military Order.”³⁷ I am not fully convinced that the brotherhood started that way. In my opinion, it is more likely, as Praver and Jacoby have already written, that the brotherhood would become an order later that century, following the increasing significance of the main military orders and the acquisition of “at least a permanent nucleus of local members” (essential for the institution’s survival).³⁸ Indeed, the Holy Spirit brotherhood – along with others whose names we barely know – seems to have been a new type of association: in the aforementioned Italian *militia* of Jesus Christ, for example, women were also allowed to enter, as well as laymen, married or not. Damien Carraz, who devoted an essay to religious societies for defending the faith in the medieval West (eleventh–thirteenth c.), focuses on the fact that the military brotherhoods did not last long, but does not consider the subject any further.³⁹

It is important to consider that the brotherhood of the Holy Spirit is, aside from the Teutonic order, the only “new” military association known to be active in Acre during the thirteenth century for which we have the statutes. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known of the other military associations, and some are much later, like that of S. Edward. Apart from Riley-Smith’s work, not much has been written about the brotherhoods in the Latin Kingdom and their links with military orders. For example, it is not clear why, in 1256, the brothers of the order of Saint Thomas of Canterbury were subject to general rage from the city’s wider population, a rage that Alexander IV urged the local clergy not to tolerate any further.⁴⁰ A document in the *RRH* tells us that in 1254 all the members of the Spanish brotherhood of Saint James were received into the *brotherhood* of Saint John (in this case, the Hospitaller order).⁴¹ The affinity of the Italian brotherhood of the Holy Spirit with the Châteaudun Pilgrims brotherhood has already been identified by Riley-Smith, as in both institutions members were clearly non-residents in the kingdom;⁴² yet these common features are perhaps too general. The pontifical letter addressed to the bishop of Châteaudun, which summarises its aims

and confirms the statutes without reporting their contents, does not enable us to know whether the brothers were required to wear particular clothes, follow particular diets, say particular daily prayers or anything else. The pope's attention is directed to one goal only: supporting the *crucesignati* of the community to fulfil their vow and granting them a 40-day indulgence if they spend money to buy weapons or pay soldiers in order to support the fight in the Holy Land. In the same year in which he approved the statutes of the Holy Spirit brotherhood, Alexander IV sent a bull to the archpresbyters of Faro, then belonging to the diocese of Compostela. There too, in honour of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin Mary, a brotherhood had been established.⁴³ The Holy Spirit brotherhood in Paris was also open to laymen, and it required an annual meeting and support for the souls of the brothers. The latter was guaranteed by the seven presbyters whom the confreres should elect, who must provide for the spiritual and material needs of any sick brother, and celebrate seven Masses after his death. In comparison, some elements contained in the statutes of the Italian brotherhood seem curious. For example, the brothers may or may not be present, may or may not put their property into a communal fund, and may or may not possess weapons, but this great elasticity towards their conduct vanishes when it comes to military clashes. Like the Templar order, the Holy Spirit brotherhood demands the expulsion of a fighter who leaves the camp. And again, in confirming the statutes, the bishop declares that he is a member. In the last chapter of the statutes concerning the spoils of war, it is stated that the turcoples are entitled to half a portion more than other brothers. Could those turcoples be Italian? We know that the term "turcopol" refers to the military specialisation, and that it does not have an ethnic connotation, but we do not have information about Italian turcoples.⁴⁴ Yet it is also possible that the cited turcoples were not effective members of the brotherhood but merely fighters hired by a brother to achieve more effective results in battle.⁴⁵

It is interesting to read that the statutes provide support for a brother who has fallen into poverty. Perhaps it is an indication that even people of low status could access the brotherhood. The Bolognese crusader Barzella, who died in Damietta around the end of 1219, left money in his will to the Temple, to the Hospital and to many other people and institutions (his military equipment to a Teutonic knight, his provisions to a man who had remained to fight until the following year) but did not name the brotherhood.⁴⁶ Perhaps the brotherhood was too modest. Barzella left just under 30 bisants, meaning that his financial circumstances were not the most modest. Nor was the brotherhood mentioned in the will of Baruffaldino Geremei, the leader of one of the two parties of the bolognese's army at Damietta (in 1253). Carraz noted:

The question that remains is to understand which social strata were allowed to join these kinds of societies: were these *confratria* reserved for members of a warrior aristocracy, like those of defenders of churches in southern France or Spain, or did it include non-nobles who possessed enough wealth to attempt this adventure to the East?⁴⁷

In the case of the brotherhood of the Holy Spirit, it is clear that non-nobles were included, as some rectors were goldsmiths. Nevertheless, it would be important to acquire more information on the social standing of the brothers.

From the anonymous *De excidio Acconis* we learn that the brotherhood contributed to protect the city walls during the siege of Acre in 1291. Nevertheless, so far I have not found any other sources that testify to the participation of the brotherhood in other military enterprises. The *De excidio Acconis* states:

Omnium civitatem habitantium . . . in armis instructorum circiter nuncentum equitum et octodecim milia peditum reperentur, de quibus quatuor custodias supra menia ordinantes preter portarum custodias, que de iure certis debebantur personis, cuilibet earum duos ex ipsis magis peritis in tali negotio rectores prefecerunt et quamlibet custodiam in duas partes dividentes singulas singuli rectoribus ordinarunt gubernandas. . . .

Harum autem custodiarum unam rexit tanquam capitaneus universi sepe nominatus Iohannes de Grilliaco, qui sibi de Grandisono Otonem predictum adiunxit. Secundam rexit rex Cypri, qui ministrum milicie Teutonicorum sibi sociavit; sed terciam rexit minister Hospitalis Ierosolimitani, qui secum milicie Spate ministrum advocavit, et quartam rexit minister Templi, qui secum ministrum milicie Sancti Spiritus adsumpsit.⁴⁸

The text uses the term *militia*, meaning a military order. In these terms, the brotherhood was relatively long-lived because the *militia* of Jesus Christ of Parma, for example, lasted less than 30 years (1234–1260). In order to know the intensity of the brotherhood's engagement in war, we would need more data, including information regarding its political weight (if any) and its role in the Commune of Acre. However, in my opinion, the brotherhood of the Holy Spirit remains only part of this discussion, namely that of the presence of Italians in the Crusader Kingdom, their background, and their network of overseas alliances. For instance, perhaps it was no coincidence that one of the rectors of the brotherhood was from Parma. Marina Gazzini provides a masterful study of the exceptional situation in Parma at the beginning of the thirteenth century and the general need to strengthen boundaries between religious orthodoxy and papacy politics. The brilliant papal attempt to involve not only *milites* but *populares* in the defence of true faith and social stability, creating a network that would have spread from Parma at least throughout northern Italy, was not realised in the *militia Iesu Christi*. Perhaps it was realised, at least partially, in Outremer.⁴⁹

Notes

- 1 Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 24, fol. 42v. The *Statuta* were published in *Les Registres d'Alexandre IV (1254–1261)*, eds. Charles Germain Marie Bourel de La Roncière, Joseph Loye, and Auguste Coulon, 3 vols. (Paris, 1895–1959), 1:103–5.
- 2 Jean Richard, *Le Royaume latin de Jerusalem* (Paris, 1953), 230–31; Id., “la confrérie des ‘Mosserins’ d’Acre et les marchands de Mossoul au XIII siècle” *L’Orient syrien* 11

- (1966): 451–60; Jonathan Riley-Smith, “A Note on Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971): 301–8; Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1972), 277–79; Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London, 1980).
- 3 Lorenza Pamato, “Le confraternite medievali. Studi e tendenze storiografiche,” in *Il buon fedele, le confraternite tra medioevo e prima età moderna*, eds. Giuseppina De Sandre Gasparini, Grado Giovanni Merlo, and Antonio Rigon (Verona, 1998), 13.
 - 4 Marina Gazzini, “Il *consortium Spiritus Sancti* in Emilia fra Due e Trecento,” in *Il buon fedele*, eds. Giuseppina De Sandre Gasparini, Grado Giovanni Merlo, and Antonio Rigon, 159–94.
 - 5 On Italian “sense of belonging” and identity roots through the history of the word, see Lorenzo Tomasini, *Italiano. Storia di una parola* (Rome, 2012).
 - 6 Alfredo Pasquetti, “Gli Italiani, la Terrasanta e Federico II: sulle prospettive di un’indagine possibile,” in *Gli Italiani e la Terrasanta*, ed. Antonio Musarra (Florence, 2014), 142–44; Sergio Raveggi, “Storia di una leggenda: Pazzo dei Pazzi e le pietre del Santo Sepolcro,” in *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo*, ed. Franco Cardini (Florence, 1982), 300–5; Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut, *Pisa e l’Oriente latino dalla I alla III crociata* (Pisa, 2010), 25.
 - 7 “Chronicon Parmense,” in RIS, 9:821–22. On the chronicle, see *Repertorio della cronachistica emiliano-romagnola (secc. IX–XV)*, eds. Bruono Andreolli, Roberto Greci et al. (Rome, 1991), 252–53.
 - 8 Giacomo Malvezzi, “Chronicon Brixianum,” in RIS, 14:1108.
 - 9 Giovanni Villani, *Nuova cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta, 3 vols. (Parma, 1990), I:207.
 - 10 “Storia fiorentina,” in RIS, 8:947.
 - 11 Laura Mastroddi, “Malispini, Ricordano,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 92 vols. (as of 2018) (Rome, 1960–), 68.
 - 12 “*Historia Imperiale*,” in RIS, 9:395.
 - 13 Matteo Grifoni, “Memoriale historicum de rebus Bononiensium,” in RIS, NS, 18/2:6; Francesco Pizolpassi, *Summa Hover Cronica (600–1440)*, ed. Armando Antonelli (Bononia, 2001), 146; Fileno dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, eds. Bruno Fortunato and Armando Antonelli, 3 vols. (Bononia, 2005), I:14–5. The myth of the crusade in XIV and XV century Bononia is well described by Antonelli, “La famiglia Pizolpassi: documentazione archivistica, analisi interna e suggestion letterarie,” in Pizolpassi, *Summa Hover Cronica*, ed. Armando Antonelli, 63–64.
 - 14 An overview on Bolognese chronicles in Flavia Gramellini, *Le Antichità di Bologna di Bartolomeo della Pugliola* (PhD diss., University of Bononia, 2008), XII–VI.
 - 15 “Cronica Villola,” in RIS NS, 18/1:88 and 90.
 - 16 Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, I:21.
 - 17 Grifoni, “Memoriale historicum de rebus Bononiensium,” 8: «Papa Honorius et imperator Federicus cum rege Johanne et marchione Estensi fuerunt Ferrariae ad parlamentandum super facto Crucis.»
 - 18 Giovanni B. Pigna, *Historia de principi di Este* (Ferrara, 1590), 137.
 - 19 An accurate overview in Jochen Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel* (Leiden and Boston, 2008).
 - 20 Riley-Smith “A Note,” 302. It is known that Pope Alexander III approved it in the decade 1160–1170 (the year does not appear in the document), but the date of birth of the cruciferous order is not known precisely. An effective synthesis of the first century of the order in Gian Piero Pacini, “Fra poveri e viandanti ai margini delle città: il ‘nuovo’ ordine ospitaliero dei Crociferi fra secolo XII e XIII,” *Religiones novae* 2 (1995): 57–85.
 - 21 Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1993–2009), 4:55.
 - 22 Pacini, “Fra poveri e viandanti,” 61–65.

- 23 The document is edited by Ludovico Antonio Savioli, *Annali Bolognesi*, 6 vols. (Bassano, 1784–1795), 2/2:446–47.
- 24 Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Scalia, 2 vols. (Bari, 1966), I:109.
- 25 Salimbene, *Cronica*, I:111.
- 26 Salimbene, *Cronica*, I:47.
- 27 *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170–1240)*, ed. Robert Burchard C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), 71: «Multitudo autem mulierum divitum et nobilium signum crucis recepit: cives mihi equos abstulerunt, et ego uxores eorum crucesignavi.». Ivi, 77: “non credo quod sit aliqua civitas, que tantum possit iuvare ad succursum Terre Sancte.”
- 28 *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo*, ed. Franco Cardini (Florence, 1982); Raul Manselli, *Italia e italiani alla prima crociata* (Rome, 1983); *The Italian Communes in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem / I Comuni italiani nel Regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, eds. Benjamin Z. Kedar and Gabriella Airaldi (Genoa, 1986); Gregorio Caravita, *Italia e Romagna alle crociate. Tra cronaca e storia nel 9° centenario della prima crociata (1096–1099)* (Rimini, 1996); *Deus non voluit: i lombardi alla prima crociata, 1100–1101: dal mito alla ricostruzione della realtà*, eds. Giancarlo Andenna and Renata Salvarani (Milan, 2003); *I Fiorentini alle crociate*, eds. Silvia Agnoletti and Luca Mantelli (Florence, 2007); *Gli Italiani e la Terrasanta*, ed. Antonio Musarra (Florence, 2014).
- 29 Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 715–23.
- 30 Jonathan Rubin, *Learning in a Crusader City: Intellectual Activity and Intercultural Exchanges in Acre, 1191–1291* (Cambridge, 2018).
- 31 David Jacoby, “Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography,” *Studi medievali* 3 (1970): 1–45; David Jacoby, “Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre: The First Stage of Its Development,” in *Outremer*, 205–17; R. Frankel, “The North-West Corner of Crusader Acre,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 37 (1987): 256–61; Z. Goldman, *Akko in the Time of the Crusades: The Convent of the Order of St John* (Akko, 1994); Benjamin Z. Kedar, “The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre,” *Atiqot* 31 (1997): 157–80; Robert Kool, “The Genoese Quarter in Thirteenth-Century Acre: A Reinterpretation of Its Layout,” *Atiqot* 31 (1997): 187–200; Pnina Arad, “Thanks to a Neighbour's Bad Reputation: Reconstructing an Area of Thirteenth-Century Acre,” *Crusades* 5 (2006): 193–97.
- 32 Adrian Boas, *Domestic Settings: Sources on Domestic Architecture and Day-to-Day Activities in the Crusader States* (Leiden and Boston, 2010), 88–89.
- 33 *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, II, 109–63.
- 34 Gilles Gerard Meersseman, *Ordo fraternitatis. Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1977).
- 35 Jean Richard, “The Political and Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Crusader State,” in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, 5:230.
- 36 Pringle, *The Churches*, 4:41–2.
- 37 Riley-Smith, “A Note,” 306.
- 38 David Jacoby, “The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 40 (1986): 83–101, at 99.
- 39 Damien Carraz, “Precursors and Imitators of the Military Orders: Religious Societies for Defending the Faith in the Medieval West (11th–13th c.),” *Viator* 41/2 (2010): 100.
- 40 «De parrochianis autem vestris, qui domos illorum invadunt [sc. fratres militiae hospitalis S. Thomae martyris Cantuariensis in Accon] per violentiam vel infringunt aut indebitis molestiis opprimunt fratres ipsos, et tam deposita quam res diripiunt eorumdem, cum exinde querimoniam deposuerint coram vobis, tam districtam eis justitiam faciatis et ita iura eorum defendere ac manutenere curetis, quod ipsi ad nos pro defectu justitie sepe recurrere non cogantur»: *Les Registres d'Alexandre IV (1254–1261)*, 3:731.
- 41 *RRH*, 75, doc. 1216a.
- 42 Riley-Smith, “A Note,” 302–3.
- 43 *Les Registres d'Alexandre IV*, 1:136–37.

- 44 “Eventually even Latin Christians could be turcoples, which shows that what had been a label denoting origin had become a label denoting function”: Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 38. On turcoples see Yuval Harari, “The Military Role of the Frankish Turcoples: A Reassessment,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 12 (1997): 75–116; Yaacov Lev, “Infantry in Muslim Armies during the Crusades,” in *Logistic of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot, 2006), 185–208. A general survey of Turcoples in Frankish campaigns is found in Steve Tibble, *The Crusader Armies: 1099–1187* (Yale, 2018).
- 45 Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 38.
- 46 Document edited by Savioli, *Annali Bolognesi*, 2/2:419–20.
- 47 Carraz, “Precursors and Imitators,” 100–1.
- 48 *Excidii Aconis gestorum collectio. Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Acconensis et tocius Terre Sancte*, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens (Turhout, 2004), 61–62.
- 49 Marina Gazzini, *Confraternite e società cittadina nel medioevo italiano* (Bononia, 2006), 85–163.

3 “Make camp, lord brothers, on behalf of God”

First archaeological evidence for encampments in the Latin East, excavated in the Springs of Saforie

Rafael Y. Lewis, Nimrod Getzov, and Ianir Milevski

Appendix of coins

Donald T. Ariel and Robert Kool

Introduction

The night of 2 July 1187 will be long remembered in the days of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The kingdom's key personnel gathered in King Guy's tent for a quarrel that would last for most of the night. The question they faced was whether the kingdom's forces should march on Tiberias to recapture it from Saladin's troops, or stay put at the well-watered and well-protected encampment by the Springs of Saforie.¹ The results of this dispute are well known,² and therefore will not be discussed in this chapter. Instead, we will deal with the Saforie encampment itself, and present the first material evidence of a Frankish and/or Ayyūbid encampment site. Since this kind of site was never excavated before, we will attempt to reconstruct the layout of such an encampment according to various sources. By doing so, we should be able to point to the main characteristics as well as to the common denominators of such site, which may be of help for further studies of encampments in the Latin East.

Location and nature of the site

The material signature of the encampment was found during a contract archaeological project taken by the proto-historical division of the Israeli Antiquities Authority (IAA).³ The need to expand Road 79 (which connects the city of Nazareth to the coastal road via Road 77) and create a new interchange for the Saforie (*Zippori/Diocaesarea*) national park led to a series of salvage excavations which extended over several seasons, from 2011 to 2017.

The site of Ein Zippori is located c.2 km west of Nazareth, in a small valley between the foothill of Giv'at Rabi (in Arabic Jebel el-Ayn) and the stream of Nahal Zippori, close to the Aynot Zippori springs (Figure 3.1). The Springs of Saforie are a cluster of springs; the main spring flows out of a small spring-house into a pool located to its north-west. The spring-house and the small ancient mound overlooking

it from the east, known as “Tell Ein Zippori,” are the focal points of the valley. Today, as in the past, these two features attract human and animal activity.⁴ The stream of Zippori flows from the springs to the west, along a 32-km valley to the Mediterranean Sea via the Kishon River. In the mid-twentieth century, and very likely in the more ancient past, this cluster of springs was the richest in the Lower Galilee.⁵

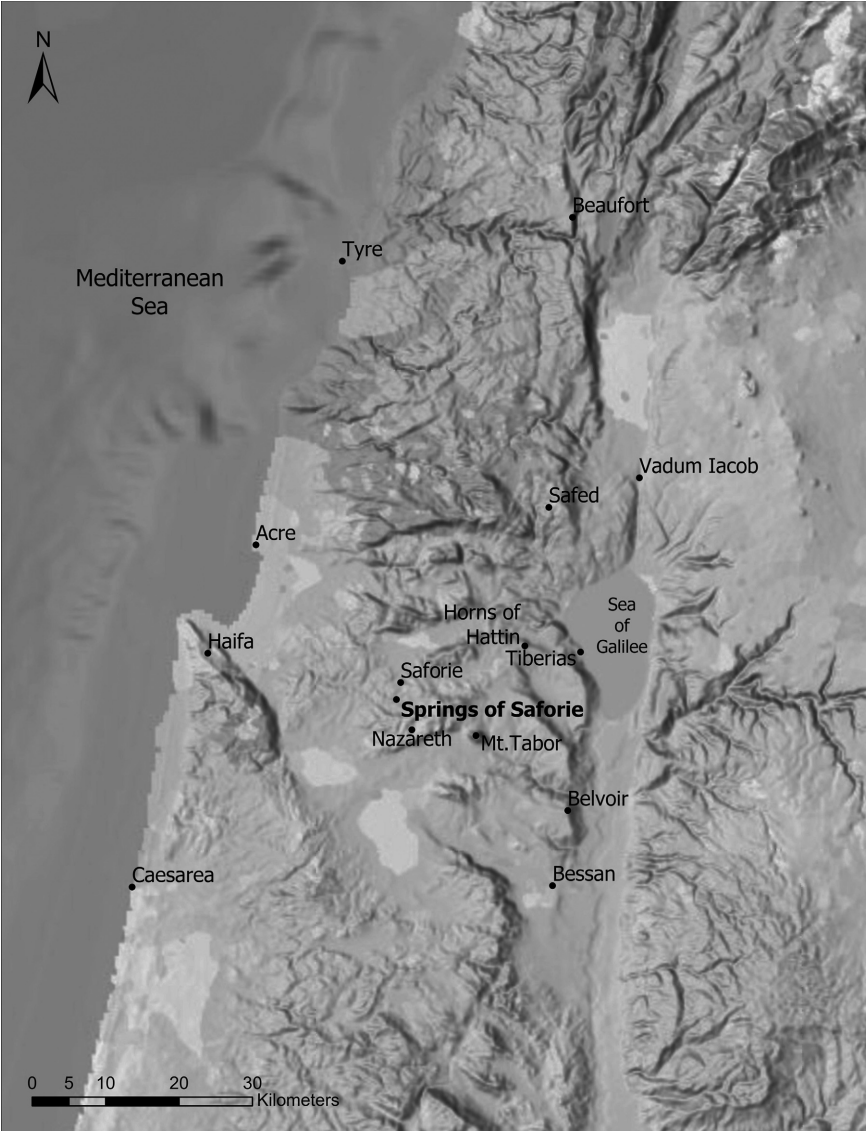


Figure 3.1 Location map of Ein Zippori (Springs of Saforie) and other chief Frankish sites in the Galilee

Source: Atalya Fadida, IAA.

The moderate slopes at the foothill of Giv'at Rabi consist of a chalky bedrock with natural terraces covered by a thin layer of *nari* limestone. The bedrock terraces are covered by a dark brown clayish grumusol. Archaeological accumulation at the site was found on the grumusol and bedrock.

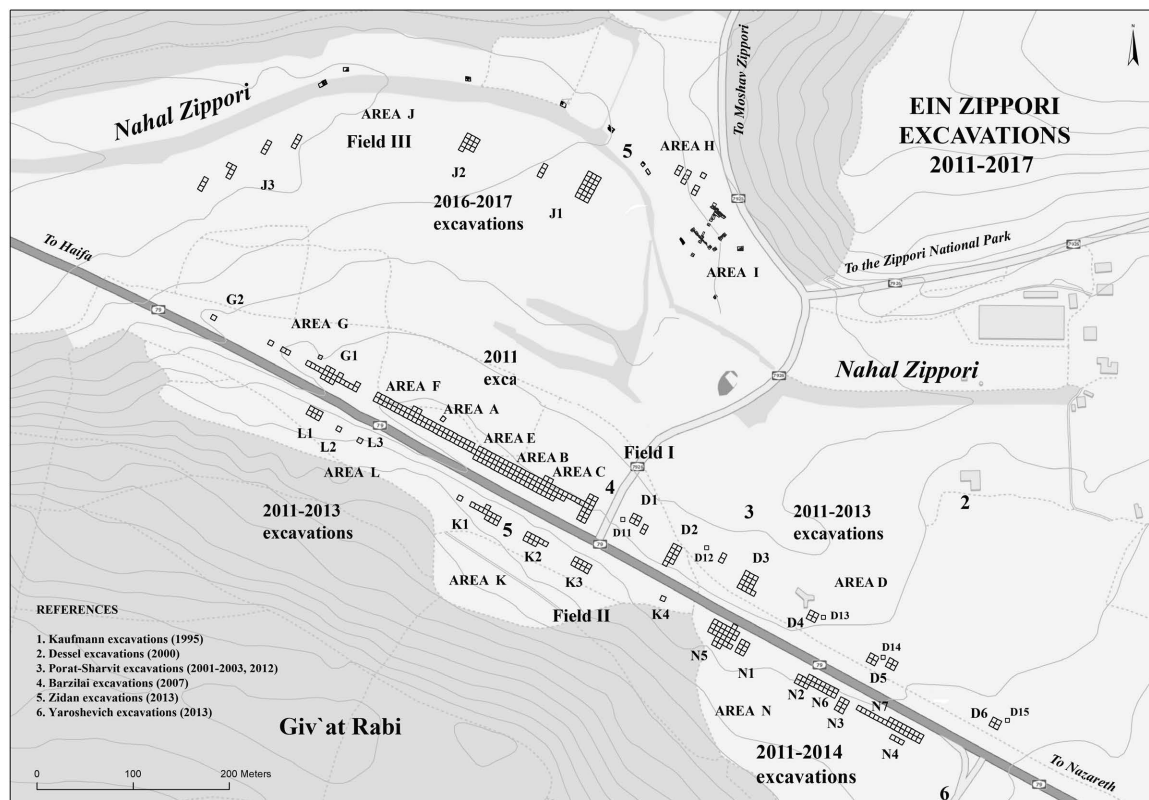
The overall excavation project included the opening of more than 250 excavation trenches,⁶ along both sides of the road, for a stretch of about 950 m (Figure 3.2). Between 2012 and 2017, c.6.5 dunams (6,500 m²) were excavated across 13 excavation areas (Figure 3.3).⁷

Archaeologists excavated a series of superimposed settlements dating from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B, Pre-Pottery Neolithic C, Late Pottery Neolithic/Nahal Zippori horizon, Early Chalcolithic, Late Chalcolithic/Ghassulian, Early Bronze Age IB, IIA, and Early Bronze IV. The finds from the Early Bronze Age IB were particularly impressive; these included a well-developed settlement enclosed by a thick stone wall. This is also the biggest site which can be attributed to the Wadi Rabah culture dated to the sixth millennium BCE.⁸

Finds from periods later than the Early Bronze Age IV included scattered pottery, coins, a small quarry dating to the Roman period, and threshing floors from the twentieth century.⁹ Unlike the relatively poor finds from those periods, the number of metal artefacts that could be attributed to the days of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (c.1099–1291) was astonishing. Metal artefacts were found both in the excavation trenches and during a topsoil metal detecting survey conducted in the area between the excavation trenches.¹⁰



Figure 3.2 Aerial view of the excavations at Ein Zippori during the 2012 season. Looking east, with Field I to the left and Field II to the right of Road 79 (courtesy of the IAA)



Landscape reconstruction

To learn whether the artefacts found outside the excavation trenches were found *in situ*, their location was checked against stratigraphic information collected from the excavation trenches, geomorphological survey, and a landscape archaeology survey.¹¹ Those sources allowed us to reconstruct the landscape, thereby understanding the changes made in the area from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic to present. We soon realised that most of the fields were in a good state of preservation, and that most of the damage to the site was the result of modern development and activity related to the construction of roads in the twentieth century.

The geomorphological survey suggests that the river stream has followed the same course for thousands of years and long before humans settled the valley. Surface cover of Aeolian brown clay started at the end of the Mousterian period (around 45 to 50 thousand years BP). Human settlements from the proto-historic periods were constructed upon this clay soil surface. Hellenistic and Roman activity occurred upon those earlier levels. Clay deposition from 1,500 years ago may indicate that at the end of the Byzantine period, there was rapid deposition of agriculturally disturbed soils that gradually relaxed. The current surface was configured about a millennium ago.¹² This is important for the understanding that soil erosion was minimal during the last millennia, thus, finds should be relatively *in situ* in areas that have been unchanged by human development.¹³

A study of aerial photographs shows that most of the excavated areas have not undergone dramatic changes since 1945 (Figure 3.4).¹⁴ The landscape archaeology survey pointed to the fact that the current field boundaries, and the Ottoman



Figure 3.4 Aerial photo of Ein Zippori, 680 ps 8. 5119 2 Jan 1945, 15,000

Moshāa field system, follow the field boundaries of the relict second-century co-axial field system common in various landscapes in the southern Levant, specifically in the Lower Galilee.¹⁵ In addition, the excavations themselves show that urban activity was linked to the stream, and all urban activities were found only to the south of the stream; none of the constructed features were cut by the course of the stream. To conclude, the landscape reconstruction showed that the movement of soil (even in topsoil levels) was minimal over the last millennium, and that the Zippori stream still runs in the same course as it did since (at least) the beginning of human urban activity in the area (Figure 3.5).

Encampments in Saforie during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

Unfortunately, we do not know whether the Springs of Saforie played a role in the course of the earliest Frankish military campaigns in the early twelfth century. But starting from the third decade of the twelfth century, the springs were a preferred assembly point for armed forces, and were also located on the Christian pilgrims' route.¹⁶ Baldwin II camped at the springs in 1126. In 1168, King Amaury wrote to Louis VII from the springs, asking for help due to an earthquake in Antioch and notifying him of his brother's death.¹⁷ The Franks under King Amaury camped again at the springs in 1171,¹⁸ for an extended period in 1182,¹⁹ at the end of summer 1183,²⁰ and for almost two months before the Battle of Hattin in 1187.²¹ According to Ibn al-Athīr, the raid led by Saladin's son al-Afdal to the region of Acre on 1 May 1187, which ended in an event known as the Battle of Cresson,



Figure 3.5 General view of Ein Zippori looking west. Tell Ein Zippori is at the bottom centre of the photo

Source: Rafael Y. Lewis.

happened at the Springs of Saforie,²² although all other sources suggest other possible locations.²³ After his decisive victory on the plain of Hattin, Saladin reassembled his troops at the Springs of Saforie.²⁴ Two years later, at the end of the summer of 1189, Saladin joined a battalion from Tebnin at the springs.²⁵ During his siege of Acre, Saladin's troops raided Saffūriyya/Saforie, and later hosted his main military baggage at the site.²⁶ Tibo (Theobald) de Champagne camped here in 1240 so his horses could graze, and again in 1251, King Louis IX and his wife spent the night here on their way to Nazareth.²⁷ It is apparent, then, that the Muslim and the Franks encamped at these springs over the course of more than 125 years during the days of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The rule of the Templars and Frankish encampments

The discovery of the Saforie encampments presents an exceptional opportunity for a comparative study of sources which deal with encampments (primarily *La Règle du Temple*) and the archaeological signature. Several sections in *La Règle du Temple* deal with encampment: when it is allowed, its structure and maintenance (equipment and camp), and discipline.²⁸

Brothers were allowed to camp only after the order to do so was given: *Herbergés vos, seignors freres, de par (de) Dieu*.²⁹ Authorisation to camp was given only after the Marshal, Master, chapel tent, and commander of the lands had taken their places in the camp; if a brother took a place without permission, the Marshal could relocate him and put whomever he wanted in his place.³⁰ The chapel was the heart of the encampment and its focal point. The brothers were expected to put their private tents around the ropes marking the limits of the chapel. The Marshal's standard and tent were placed close to the chapel. The crier (of orders) and the officer in charge of the grain store should camp close to the Standard Bearer.³¹ Others camped where they saw fit, but close to those with whom they rode into battle. Each brother was expected to keep all his belongings within the boundaries of his tent, and these were marked with ropes (as were the chapel's boundaries). Templar brothers were expected to be on guard at all times, thus the alarm bell played an important part in the camp. Brothers were not allowed to step beyond the bell's sound unless they were specifically ordered to do so. Such an order may be given for activities such as collecting firewood, collecting stones (for the campfire), hunting, and "going out for pleasure."³² Brothers shared their tents with their sergeants. If a brother had more than one sergeant, only one of them was allowed to be sent for different tasks and needs. We also learn that brothers were not allowed to keep more food than they were rationed, nor were they allowed to hunt freely, if at all.³³

The need to be always on guard is also reflected in the weight given to the maintenance and readiness of one's combat equipment. In camp, the war saddle was to be kept in a cloak or a rug. In addition, the warhorses and saddles could be mounted only after a direct order to do so was given. Keeping the horses healthy was also a priority. A brother was allowed to come late to church if the bells rang while he was shoeing a horse.³⁴

The overall sense which comes across from these descriptions of Templar encampments is one of impermanency. It also seems that the nature and structure of these camps was very different from encampments during other periods, notably the well-studied (historically and archaeologically) Roman legion camps.³⁵ It seems that the use of wood and stones for the construction of different camp features was reasonably limited in Frankish encampments.³⁶ Therefore, from an archaeological perspective, what do we expect to find in such an encampment after its abandonment? We are fortunate that the encampments at the Springs of Saforie (probably because of the cyclic nature and long duration of visits to the site) left a significant material signature represented by metal artefacts.

The artefacts and their distribution analysis

Topsoil levels are usually regarded as a burden by archaeologists and are frequently bulldozed away, but in Landscape and Battlefield Archaeology, topsoil is the key level for understanding the site and its formation; in many cases, it holds the material signature of a specific historical event.³⁷

During this study, 456 metal artefacts and coins were recovered (from topsoil and excavation squares); 196 of them can be dated with certainty to the days of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Figure 3.6).³⁸ These include horseshoes, horseshoe nails, prick spurs, hooks, pins, buckles, horse bits, horse bridles, harness fittings,



Figure 3.6 Artefact density (10 m) along the excavated area

Source: Michal Birkenfeld, IAA.

needles, a currycomb, arrowheads, and coins. Most of the artefacts excavated during the study relate to horse riding (Figures 3.7, 3.8, 3.11 and 3.14), and these were studied and referenced with similar artefacts found in urban archaeological Frankish sites.³⁹

The most dominant type of artefact found during the study was horseshoe nails, of which there were 153 in total. These were spread throughout the excavated areas, in what seems to be different clusters according to their different types. In the days of Latin rule in the east, the horseshoe nail head projected out of the horseshoe, allowing a good grip of the ground. The nails were subjected to wear and breakage much more than the horseshoe, and were therefore frequently replaced.⁴⁰ The typology of horseshoes and their nails in Western Europe was well defined by Clark.⁴¹ However, in the Latin East, only preliminary efforts have been made.⁴² Though it seems that there is a good variation in forms, at this point we can suggest only two main types of horseshoes and horseshoe nails (Figures 3.7 and 3.8). These types can be characterised as eastern horseshoes and European ones. Future studies on the subject should be able to bring forward a much more detailed typology in the Levant.

The eastern horseshoe is characterised by the following features: a plate of metal which covers most of the shoe, a large rounded hole in the centre of the shoe, and small round holes (for about four nails) along the edge of the shoe. The nails of this type of horseshoe have a flat, square head; the tail comes out of one of the four flanks of the nails head creating an L-shaped vertical section. This type of horseshoe and nail can be found in stratified archaeological sites in the

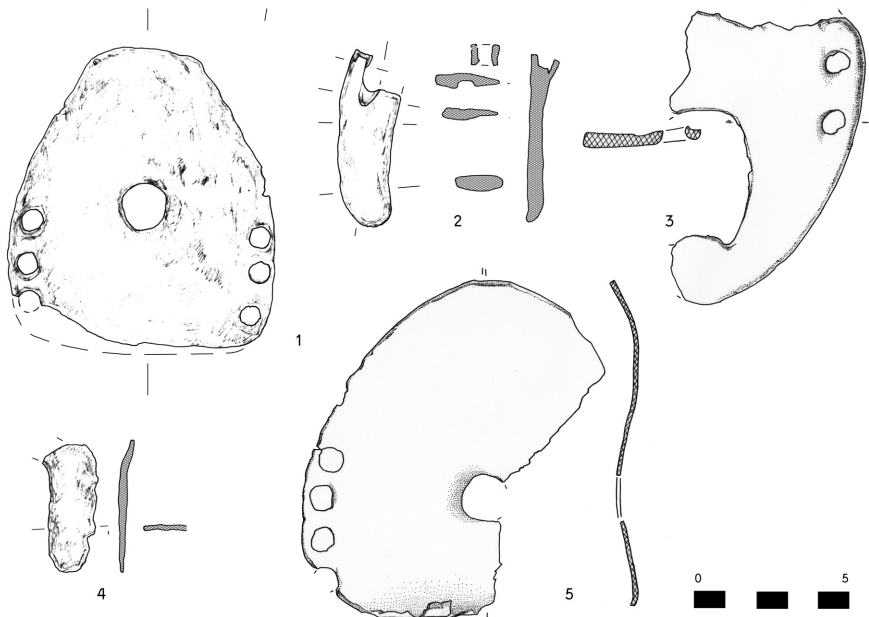


Figure 3.7 Types of horseshoes found at the Springs of Saforie⁴³

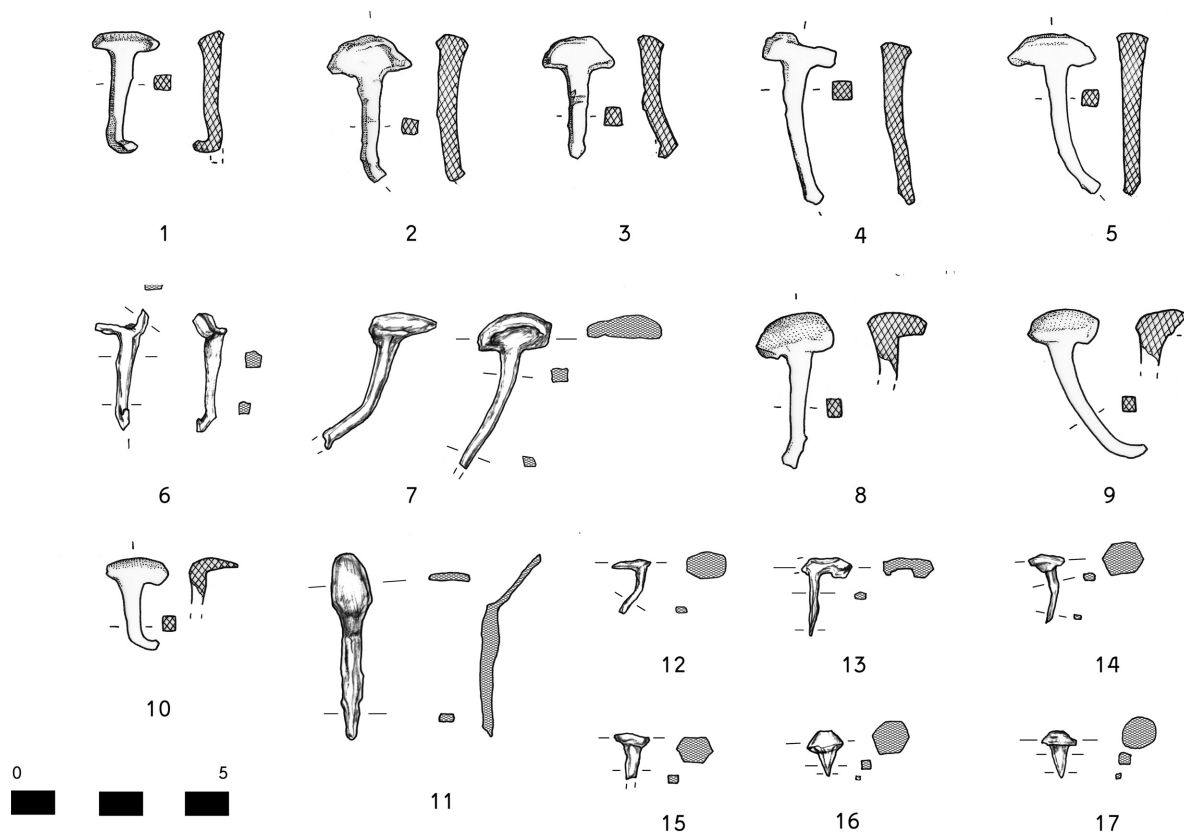


Figure 3.8 Types of horseshoe nails and shoe nails found at the Springs of Saforie⁴⁴

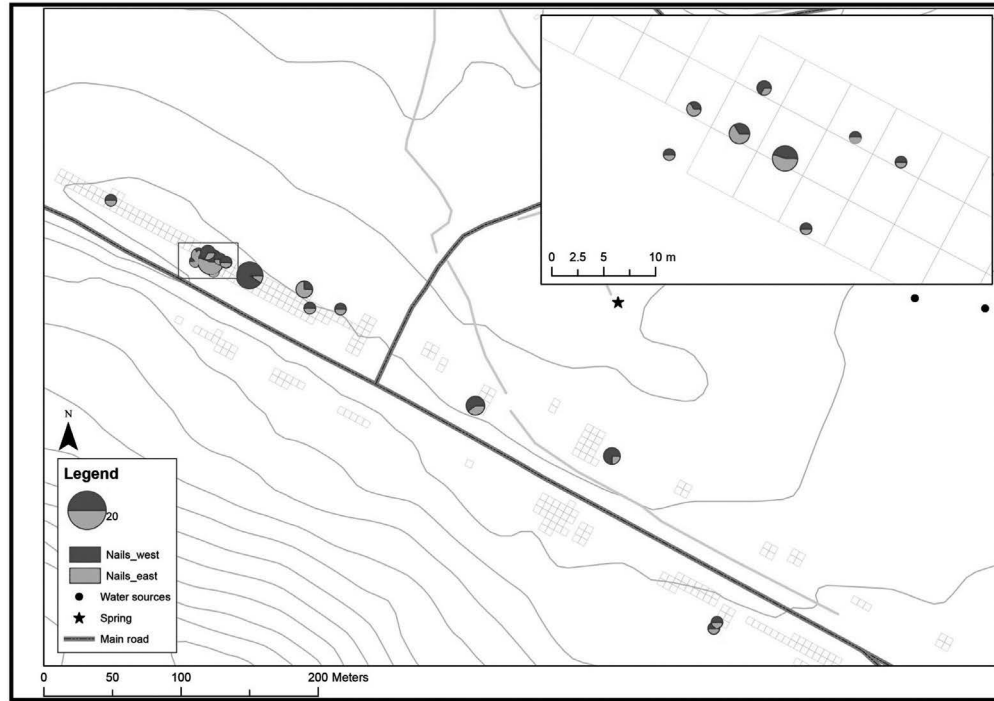
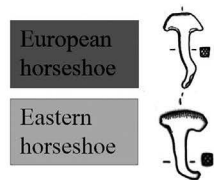


Figure 3.9 Distribution of horseshoe nails in the excavated areas according to different types

Source: Michal Birkenfeld, IAA.

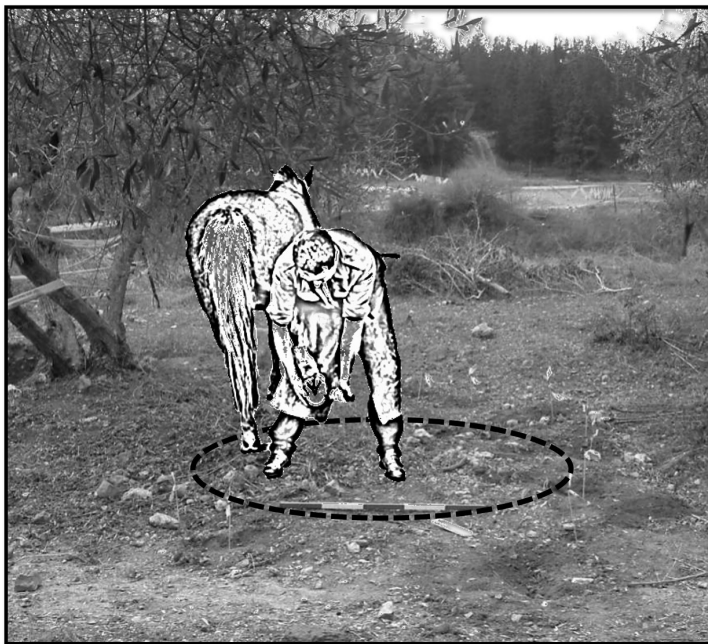


Figure 3.10 Density of violin key horseshoe nails in square (location of each nail is marked with a small flag), and a reconstruction of a farrier tending a horse

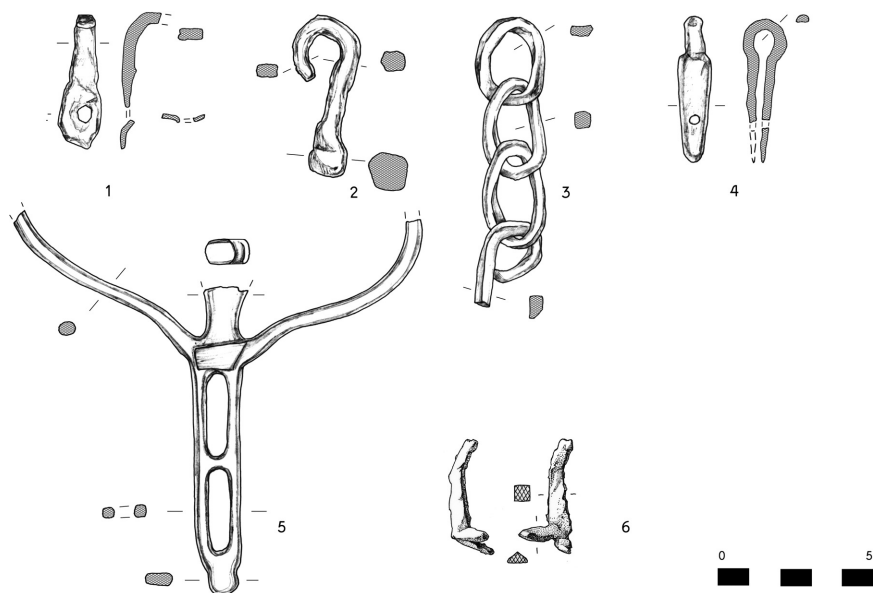


Figure 3.11 Finds related to horses and farrier work from the Springs of Safforie⁴⁵

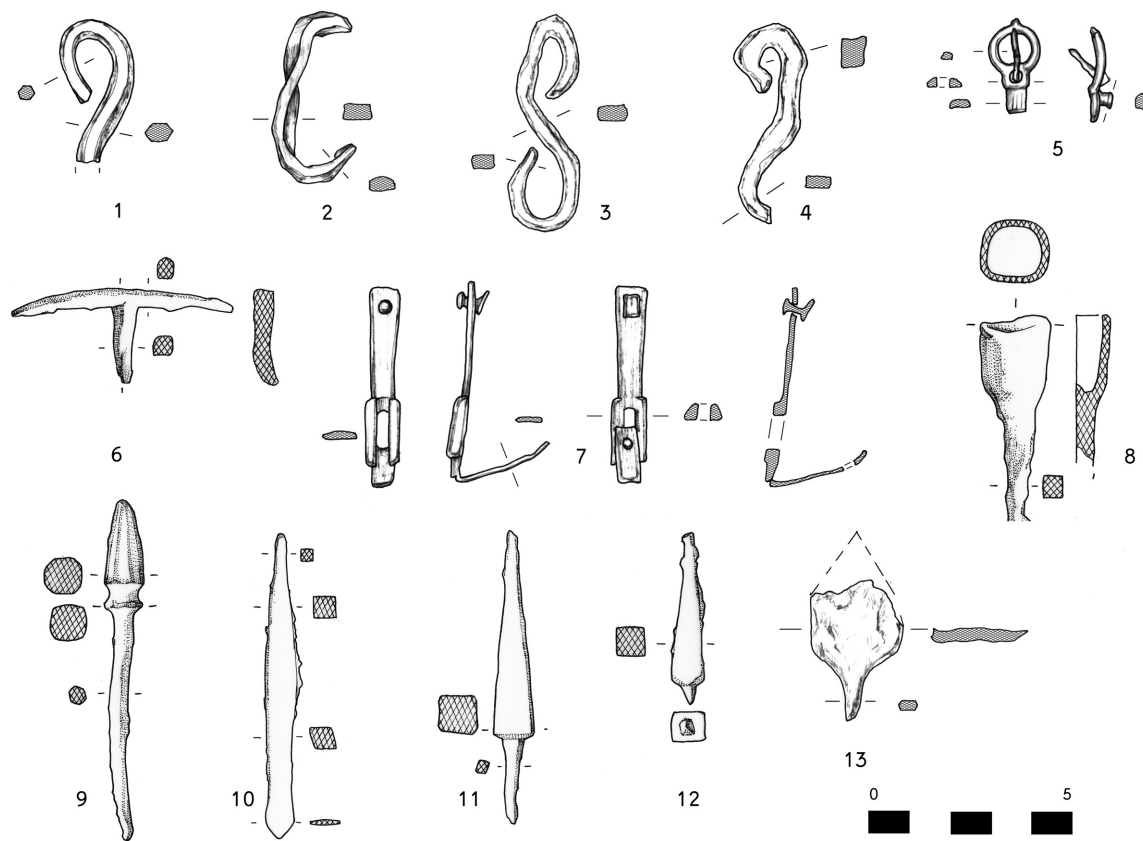


Figure 3.12 Hooks, buckles, and arrowheads from the Springs of Saforie⁴⁶



Figure 3.13 Two of the needles found at the Springs of Saforie

Source: Noa Shatil, IAA.⁴⁷

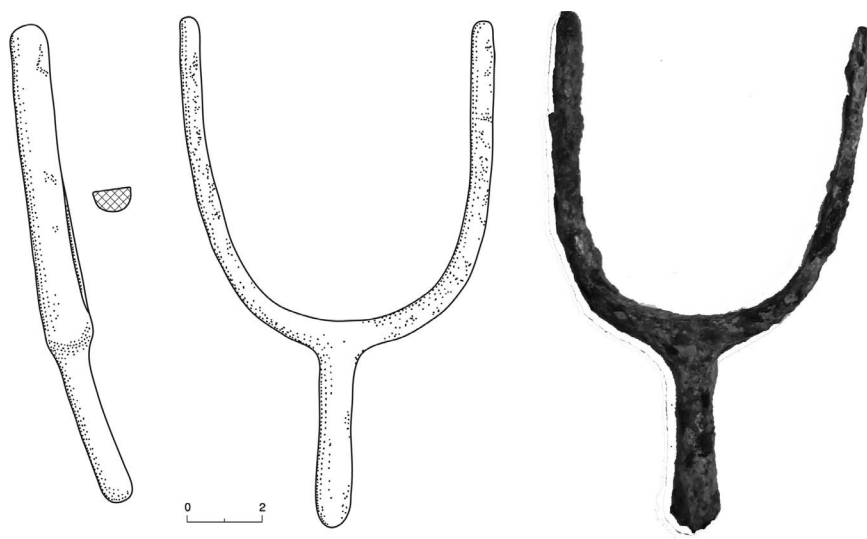


Figure 3.14 Spur found at the Springs of Saforie

Source: Noa Shatil and Clara Amit, IAA.⁴⁸

Levant dating from the tenth century CE to the mid-twentieth century. It was also used for shoeing equids and cattle (when used for threshing).⁴⁹ A similar metal shoe was used up to the 1950s for men's shoes. The second type of horseshoe, the European horseshoe, found in twelfth- to thirteenth-century archaeological contexts in the Latin East, is U shaped. The metal plate is much thicker than the eastern type and the tips of the shoes (calkins) are folded towards the ground surface (double-folded calkins). The nail holes are rectangular at the ground surface and rectangular or rounded at the bearing surface. The nails used for this kind of

horseshoe are known as violin key or fiddle key horseshoe nails. The nail head is narrow and hexagonal, trapezoid, or rectangular.⁵⁰

Out of 153 horseshoe nails found at the Springs of Saforie, 105 nails were of the European type and 48 were of the eastern type (Figure 3.9). Artefact distribution analysis shows a pattern in the way the different types of nails were clustered. In some cases, the clusters were so collectively distributed that one could almost identify the place where a specific horse was tended (Figure 3.10).

One of the artefacts found in association with the nails was a small crowbar. It may have been part of a tool used for removing the nails, though it is more likely that a shoeing hammer was used (Figure 3.11.6).⁵¹ We can learn about the importance of horseshoes from the paragraph in *La Règle du Temple* dealing with the rights of secular knights serving for a fixed term: "We commend both parties to put a price on the horse, and to put the price in writing so that it is not forgotten; and let everything that the knight, his squire, and horse need, even horseshoes, be given out of fraternal charity according to the means of the house."⁵²

Another interesting find related to farriers work was a currycomb (Figure 3.11.5)⁵³ and an unfinished nail (of the violin key type), which suggests local production of these artefacts.⁵⁴

Whatever circumstances brought people to the springs, some of them covered quite a long distance,⁵⁵ and it is quite likely that many horseshoes and horseshoe nails needed to be replaced. Therefore, it is not surprising that the main activity represented in the archaeological record here is the changing of the horseshoe nails. Most of the horseshoe nails found during this project were broken or heavily worn. Tending horses during the encampment is also evident in the finding of a currycomb. Another interesting find that points to activities that took place during encampment are the three needles found in Saforie (two to the west of the spring-house, one to the east).⁵⁶

Four twelfth- to thirteenth-century arrowheads were found at the Springs of Saforie excavations, all of the armour-penetrating type, with a pyramidal section.⁵⁷ Another flat (kite shaped) arrowhead, a type which is more effective against equids, was found in topsoil levels to the west of the spring-house (Figure 3.12.13).⁵⁸

The location of the finds shows that camping activity was restricted to the south of the Saforie stream, and that the stream served as the northern boundary of the encampment. It should be pointed out that the common denominator of many other crusader encampments, such as the ones mentioned on the crusader march to Jaffa during the Third Crusade, is that they were located by running streams or large water sources.⁵⁹

The Latin forces cannot be described as an army, at least not in the modern sense. One reason for this is that although they were all under the king's command, each force camped and fought under its own flag.⁶⁰ The artefact distribution analysis shows different clusters of finds; this may be interpreted as the result of several camping occurrences or that troops camped in different groups, perhaps already in their fighting march formation.

We can also see preference for camping close to the water source, reflected in the larger number of artefacts by the spring-house. In addition, the closer we get to the spring-house, the artefacts are more aristocratic (gilded buckles and hairpins) and of a European nature (Figure 3.12.5–7). The number of European horseshoes in the assembly is also larger as we get closer to the spring-house (Figure 3.9).

Tell Ein Zippori, overlooking the spring from the east, would be an ideal location for the king's tent for several reasons: the small tell overlooks the fields in focal position and has its own water source.⁶¹ This would allow the king a good vantage point overlooking the encampment, while also protecting his independence and removal from the hassle of the camp.

The finding of arrowheads at an assembly point should not be surprising since preparing arrows and target practice were probably an encampment routine. Still, we should consider the possibility that the arrowheads are the material signature of a conflict that took place at the springs during the days of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and could support the possibility that the Battle of Cresson took place here.

Though this chapter deals with the archaeological and historical context of the Saforie encampments, we would like to raise a few issues concerning the social-historical meaning of the finds and the potential for further studies of encampments in the Latin East. Especially during large-scale conflicts, the waiting period before moving to action could be long, dreadful and have disastrous effects on the physical and mental strength of the fighting unit. In many cases, officers were occupied with debating operative plans and hardly sleeping. At the same time, if common soldiers were not under strict discipline, they might spend too much time on (problematic) activities such as oversleeping, drinking, and thinking. One way to overcome these problems could have been to keep common soldiers busy mending their arms and armour so they were ready for combat (Figure 3.13). It would not be far-fetched to say that the Saforie encampment saw such a pattern of behaviour on the eve of the Hattin campaign. We know about the leaders, their arguments, and the results from written evidence; from archaeological study of the encampment, we can learn about the structure of the encampment and the activities of the more common knights and sergeants preparing for the fighting march.

To conclude, work at the Springs of Saforie revealed the first archaeological remains of an encampment in the Latin East. A chief methodological problem in our work is the fact that the Springs of Saforie were used repeatedly as a site of assembly, and not only on the eve of the Hattin campaign. However, we believe that this methodological problem will diminish following further archaeological studies of single episode camping sites. Very recently, the Springs of Saforie were declared a national park, thus the remains of its encampments have a better chance of survival until more advanced dating tools are introduced, ones which may allow for the identification of a specific camping episode. Still, the tangible archaeological finds from Saforie open the door for new studies on encampments of the Latin East, all thanks to a few (horseshoe) nails.

Appendix I

Coins from excavations at 'Enot Zippori (A-6272/2011 and A-6457/2012)

Donald T. Ariel and Robert Kool

Eleven coins were found in the excavations. One was unidentifiable and three were nineteenth-century Ottoman copper coins. The remaining seven coins are reported here.

All (but one, in the following) of the coins were found in the 20 cm-thick surface layer above the prehistoric and Bronze Age site. Detailed historical and physical surveys of the area show that this surface layer has been largely untouched by modern development (primarily road works during the Mandatory period and in the 1970s), thus preserving many of its pre-Ottoman features.

Roman and Byzantine periods

Five coins of the Roman and Byzantine periods are similar in date to six of the coins found in an adjacent excavation 300 m to the south. These accord with the dates of large numbers of post-Bronze Age pottery and glass fragments discovered during the Zidan excavations: quarries, a winepress, walls, and reservoirs relating to the irrigation of nearby plots under cultivation.⁶² Together, they indicate the presence of some sort of agricultural settlement at 'Enot Zippori belonging to the immediate hinterland of the nearby city of Sepphoris/Diocaesarea. Historically, a story is preserved in the Babylonian Talmud of a famous resident of Sepphoris in the early third century CE who went down to the spring to bathe (B. Meg. 5b; Miller 1999:154). The spring itself, therefore, may have been fitted for bathing.

The earliest coin is a bronze struck at the end of Trajan's reign in the mint of the port city of Tyre (Figures 3.15 and 3.16). As recent research has shown, these Tyrian bronzes were the dominant small change currency in this area during the Roman period.⁶³ The importance of this mint for Sepphoris is reinforced by the finds of roughly 30 published and unpublished autonomous Tyrian Roman-period bronzes in the city, including four published coins of the same type.⁶⁴

The latest coin from the present excavation is a small Byzantine bronze, minted in huge numbers by Constantine I and his successors after 324, minted in Antioch between 383–395 CE. Excavated from under the remains of a wine press treading floor, this was the only well-contextualised coin find from the site.



Figure 3.15 Coin of Autonomous Tyre, 115/6 CE, obverse

Source: Clara Amit, IAA.



Figure 3.16 Coin of Autonomous Tyre, 115/6 CE, reverse

Source: Clara Amit, IAA.



Figure 3.17 Coin of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE), Aelia Capitolina, obverse
Source: Clara Amit, IAA.



Figure 3.18 Coin of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE), Aelia Capitolina, reverse
Source: (Photographer: Clara Amit, IAA).

Crusader/Frankish period

From this period date, two billon deniers are attributed to the reign of Baldwin III, King of Jerusalem (1143–1163; Figures 3.19, 3.20, 3.21 and 3.22). Both coins



Figure 3.19 Coin of Baldwin III (1143–1163 CE), Jerusalem, obverse
Source: Clara Amit, IAA.



Figure 3.20 Coin of Baldwin III (1143–1163 CE), Jerusalem, reverse
Source: Clara Amit, IAA.

are of the smooth type which, as opposed to the earlier rough type,⁶⁵ form the preponderant group of BALDVINVS deniers, presumably minted after 1152 when Baldwin succeeded in wresting control over the kingdom from his mother, the queen-regent Melisende. Both coins came out of the topsoil of the site together with a large number of Frankish finds such as horseshoe nails and arrowheads.⁶⁶ Finding Frankish period coins at the site is not surprising; since the early twelfth



Figure 3.21 Coin of Baldwin III (1143–1163 CE), Jerusalem, obverse

Source: Clara Amit, IAA.



Figure 3.22 Coin of Baldwin III (1143–1163 CE), Jerusalem, reverse

Source: Clara Amit, IAA.

century, the Springs of Saphoria, among the landed properties owned by the nearby Archbishopric of Nazareth (Beyer 1944/5:225; Pringle 1998:210),⁶⁷ functioned as the central muster point for the armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in times of military threat or campaigns.⁶⁸

CATALOGUE

	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Basket</i>	<i>Weight</i> (gr.)	<i>Diam.</i> (mm.)	<i>Axis</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Date</i> (CE)	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>IAA No.</i>
						AUTONOMOUS						
1*	2051	20215	4.70	18	↑	Head of Tyche r.; behind: palm branch	Above: AM[Σ]/ ¾ IEPA†/ MHTPOΠO/ ΛEWΣ; below: [רצל] Galley l.	115/6.	Tyre	Cf. <i>BMC</i> <i>Phoen</i> : 63, No.319.		154924
						ROMAN PROVINCIAL Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE)						
2*		11513	9.96	22		[- - -] Laureate, draped bust r.	Tetrastyle temple with central arch; within, Tyche standing l., resting foot on unidentified object, holding small bust and sceptre; in ex.: [C]A[C]		Aelia Capitolina	<i>CHL</i> :82, No. 21; Meshorer 1989:72, No. 20		154919
						BYZANTINE Constans I (337–350 CE)						
3	162	11503	1.89	14		[- - -] Pearl- diademed head r.	VOT/XV/MVLT/ XXX within wreath; in ex.: SMANA	341–346	Antioch	<i>LRBC</i> I:31, No. 1399		154922

4		11531	0.94	14	383–395 [- - -] Pearl- diademed, draped bust r.	[- - -] Victory dragging captive l., holding trophy			Cf. <i>LRBC</i> II:89, No. 2183		154920
5	4081	40259	1.06	10	Illegible	[- - -] Victory dragging captive l., holding trophy		Antioch	Cf. <i>LRBC</i> II:89, No. 2183		154925
LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM Baldwin III (1143–1163), billon denier											
6*	Surf.	20003	0.60	16	[RE]X BALDVINV[S] Cross pattée	[DE] IERVSALEM Tower of David	1150s – 1163	Kingdom of Jerusalem	Cf. Metcalf 1995: Pl. 10:164a. Smooth series, Group 5	clipped	154921
7*	1060	10358	0.87	16	REX BALDVINVS Cross pattée	[DE] IERVSAL[EM] Tower of David	Same	Same	Cf. Metcalf 1995: Pl. 10:159– 164. Smooth series, Group 4 (central tongue omitted).	clipped	154923

Notes

- 1 The site is also known as 'En Zippori/Seforie/Saforie/Eyn el-Qastel/Saffuriah; in this paper, we will refer to the place name as "Saforie," as it appears in twelfth- and thirteenth-century writings. We would like to thank Michal Birkenfeld and Atalya Fadida for her help and for the maps provided in this paper.
- 2 On the Battle of Hattin: Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Battle of Hattin Revisited," in *Horns*, 190–207; Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), 484–500. On the dispute in the king's tent, see 491 fn. 27; Peter Herde, "Die Kämpfe bei den Hörnern von Ḥiṭṭīn und der Untergang des Kreuzritterheeres (3. und 4. Juli 1187). Eine Historisch-Topographische Untersuchung," in *Peter Herde, Studien zur Papst- und Reichsgeschichte, zur Geschichte des Mittelmeerraumes und zum kanonischen Recht im Mittelalter*, ed. E. Halbband (Stuttgart, 2002), 97–153; Rafael Y. Lewis, "Crusader Battlefields: Environmental and Archaeological Perspectives," in *The Crusader World*, ed. Adrian J. Boas (Oxon and New York, 2015), 460–89; Rafael Y. Lewis, *Archaeology of Conflicts: The Decisive Stage of the Battle of Hattin as a Case Study* (Hebrew) (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Haifa, 2014); David C. Nicolle, *Hattin 1187, Saladin's Greatest Victory* (London, 1993); John France, *Hattin: Great Battles* (Oxford, 2015).
- 3 Between the years 2011 to 2016, a series of salvage excavations were conducted at the Ein Zippori antiquities site located in the Lower Galilee, Israel, prior to the widening of Road 79 (connecting the Mediterranean coast to the city of Nazareth), and the opening of a bypath leading into the modern village of Zippori and the Zippori National Park. Excavation license numbers: A-6272, A-6457, A-6784, A-7613, A-7722, A-7177; map ref. 2257/7375. The excavations, undertaken on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), were financed by the Israel National Roads Company, Ltd. and directed by Ianir Milevski, Nimrod Getzov and Noa Shatil of the proto-historic division of the IAA. Nimrod Getzov and Ianir Milevski, "Excavations at Ein Zippory," *IAA Reports* (forthcoming). The data collected in Shatil's excavations will be added to the final report, but is mostly absent from the current paper.
- 4 The small spring-house was dated, with uncertainty, to the Roman period; see Leea Porat, "En Zippori," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot, Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 117 (Electronic Journal, 2005), http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=177&mag_id=110. Retrieved April, 2021; Tell Ein Zippori was excavated by the Duke University expedition to Dioceasarea headed by E. Meyers and C. Meyers; the part of their work concerning the tell has not been published yet.
- 5 As Kedar showed, the Spring of Saforie yielded no less than 108,000 liters of water per hour on 7 August 1949, and 86,000 liters per hour on 13 July 1950. See *Horns*, 196.
- 6 Fieldwork was carried out using a 5x5-m grid with 1-m wide baulks.
- 7 The same grid was used for all the excavated areas, aside from several squares in areas A and D. A test excavation in 2011 verified the main stratigraphic sequence of the site, and the top soil, up to 30 cm thick, was removed by bulldozers before beginning the manual excavation in some areas. With the identification of the metal artefacts in the topsoil level in the 2012 season, an intensive metal detector survey was conducted (in spring 2013) just before expansion of the project.
- 8 Ianir Milevski and Nimrod Getzov, "En Zippori," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot, Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 126 (Electronic Journal, 2014), http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=13675. Retrieved April 2021; Nimrod Getzov and Ianir Milevski, "En Zippori," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot, Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 129 (Electronic Journal, 2017), http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=25239&mag_id=125. Retrieved April, 2021. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=25239&mag_id=125.
- 9 Milevski and Getzov, "En Zippori," (2014).
- 10 On surface level and down to the depth of 30 cm.
- 11 For more on Landscape Archaeology and its adaption to work in the Levant see Tony J. Wilkinson, *Archaeological Landscapes of the Near East* (Tucson, 2003); Shimon

- Gibson, *Landscape Archaeology and Ancient Agricultural Field Systems in Palestine* (London, 1995); Idem, "From Wildscape to Landscape: Landscape Archaeology in the Southern Levant – Methods and Practice," in *The Rural Landscape of Ancient Israel*, eds. Aren M. Maeir, Shimon Dar, and Zeev Safrai, BAR International Series 1121 (Oxford, 2003), 1–25; Shimon Gibson, Shimon Dar and Johan Clark, "The Archaeological Setting and The Surrounding Landscape," in *Belmont Castle, The Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, eds. Richard P. Harper and Denys Pringle (Oxford and New York, 2000), 21–32; For details on the toolkit available in Landscape Archaeology, see Rafael Y. Lewis and Shimon Gibson, "Cultural Landscape Palimpsest: A Spatial Archaeological View of Jerusalem's Lower Aqueduct and the Ain Al-Arroub Inscription," *Studies on the Land of Judea 2* (Hebrew) (Kfar Etzion, 2018), 67–88. A preliminary unpublished geoarchaeological report of Ein Tzipori: Joel Raskin, 9.1.18 (unpublished geomorphological report) was written during later archaeological works conducted by Yehuda Guvrin and Michal Iron in the area. We would like to thank them for allowing us access to the report. The results of their excavations, with more finds from the Saforie encampments, will be published in the future.
- 12 Raskin, 9.1.18.
 - 13 The Mandatory road from the 1930s, which was laid to the south of the Saforie stream can still be followed today and can be easily spotted by the line of elongated field stones framing both sides. Current Road 79 runs to the south of the Mandatory one. More than ten acres of the site were demolished during the paving of this road in the 1970s. This landscape change is also evident with the planting of the pine trees on the slopes around the valley and the planting of eucalyptus trees to the west of the Early Roman spring-house.
 - 14 5041 680 ps 11. 4 Jan: 45 F12, Topo: 15.000; 5119 680 ps 8. 2 Jan: 45 F12, Topo: 15.000.
 - 15 Lewis, *Archaeology of Conflicts*, 312–17; Rafael Frankel, Nimrod Getzov, Mordechai Aviam, and Avi Degani, *Settlement Dynamics and Regional Diversity in Ancient Upper Galilee, Archaeological Survey of Upper Galilee. IAA Reports 14* (Jerusalem, 2001), 113–14. Rafael Lewis and Shimon Gibson, "The Coaxial Landscape of Ashkelon: Ashkelon a Key Site for the Dating of Coaxial Field Systems in the Southern Levant" (forthcoming); Shimon Gibson and Rafael Lewis, "Coaxial Landscapes in the Southern Levant" (forthcoming).
 - 16 Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London, 1972), 212, 368; Idem, *Crusader Institutions*, 490.
 - 17 RRH, 396, p. 104. Two Baldwin III coins were found in the springs during this project. See appendix by Donald T. Ariel and Robert Kool, "Coins from Excavations at 'Enot Zippori'" (A-6272/2011 & A-6457/2012), figures 18–19.
 - 18 WT, 946.
 - 19 WT, 1030.
 - 20 WT, 1050; Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin or al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya wa'l-Mahāsīn al-Yūsufiyya*, trans. D.S. Richards (Aldershot, 2001), 61; Ernoul, *Chronique D'Ernoul* (Paris, 1871), 97–98, 102; Raymond Charles Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097–1193)* (Cambridge, 1956), 151–54.
 - 21 Ibn Shaddād mentions Saffuriyya (could be referred to the castle and not Ibn Shaddād 2001: 247), and in the treaty with Richard (Bahā al-Din Ibn Shaddād 2001: 229); Ernoul, *Chronique*, 153; Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 191–95; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 487.
 - 22 Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period: From al-Kāmil fi'l-ia'rīkh Part II*, trans. Donald Sidney Richards (Aldershot, 2007), 319; Malcolm Cameron Lyons and David Edward Pritchett Jackson, *Saladin, The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), 249.
 - 23 On the location of the Battle of Cresson, see: Denys Pringle, "The Spring of the Cresson in Crusading History," in *Dei Gesta per Francos, Crusader Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, eds. Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2011), 231–40.

- 24 Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 499.
- 25 Ibn Shaddād, *Rare*, 2001, 97.
- 26 Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle*, 326, 365.
- 27 Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades: Volume II, the Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge, 1954), 216; Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume de Jérusalem*, Tome II (Paris, 1970), 278, 343.
- 28 The following is a preliminary survey of the literature and its aim is mainly to show the potential in further research of literal evidence; emphasis will be on aspects that may have an archaeological signature in Saforie or other encampments.
- 29 Henri De Curzon, *La Règle du Temple* (Paris, 1886–1942), 115–16; “Make Camp, Lord Brothers, on Behalf of God,” in *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights/Templar*, trans. Judith M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge, 1992), 56.
- 30 Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, 116; Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 56.
- 31 Probably in close proximity and not in the same tent, Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, 116–17; Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 56.
- 32 This could have significant implication on the sanitation in the camp and its water sources after a few weeks of camping. The actual distance that a brother is allowed to distance himself, without permission, from his fellow brothers or their house in time of war or peace is to be no more than a league. Idem, 56.
- 33 Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 56–57.
- 34 Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 86.
- 35 Norbert Hanel, “Military Camps, *Canabae*, and *Vici*. The Archaeological Evidence,” in *A Companion to the Roman Army*, ed. Paul Erdkamp (Oxford, 2007), 395–416; Helen Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare: Theory and Practice of War in Europe 300–1500* (New York, 2004), 69; *The Oxford Handbook of Warfare in the Classical World*, eds. Brian Campbell and Lawrence A. Tritle (Oxford and New York, 2013), 102–8; Yotam Tepper, “The Roman Legionary Camp at Legio, Israel: Results of an Archaeological Survey and Observations on the Roman Military Presence at the Site,” in *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest*. Proceedings of a colloquium held at Potenza, Acerenza and Matera, Italy (May 2005), eds. Ariel S. Lewin and Piertina Pellegrini (Oxford, 2007), 57–71.
- 36 Methodologically, the Frankish encampments may be closer in nature to hunter-gatherer encampments. Hunter-gatherer sites (though different in many aspects than those in the focus of this paper) are known for their impermanence. In many cases, pre-historic sites are believed to have been revisited, on a seasonal base, over thousands of years. The activity in such sites is reflected archaeologically, mainly by evidence of stone clearance, flint tools and flint debitage, and in some conditions, remains of fireplaces and other carbonized organic remains.
- 37 Tim L. Sutherland, “Topsoil: Key Battlefield Layer,” *British Archaeology Magazine* 79 (2004): 15.
- 38 The fact that the site is not an urban archaeological site, and because the artefacts could not be linked to features or loci which are clearly from the days of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, dating of the artefacts was done according to references found in archaeological sites dated to those periods. A list of all artefacts found will be published in the final excavation report, Getzov and Milevski, “Excavations at Ein Zippory.”
- 39 Lewis, *Archaeology of Conflicts*, 447–65 pl. 14–32; Adrian, J. Boas, *Monfort Castle, The Western Wing and the Great Hall* (Haifa, 2012), 77–78, figures 107–9; Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London, 1999), 164, figures 6.2, 10, 12; Hervé Barbé, *Le château de Safed et son Territoire à L’époque des Croisades, Thèse Rédigée pour L’obtention du Diploma de “Docteur en Philosophie,”* (Jerusalem, 2010), 333, figure 107; Nimrod Getzov, “An Excavation at Horbat Bet Zeneta,” *‘Atiqot* 39 (2000): 100, figure 30, 7–13; Johns 1936, in Johns, ed. Pringle 1997, 50, figure 15.17; Bashford Dean, *The Exploration of a Crusader Fortress*

- (Montfort) in Palestine. A Report of Exploration made by the Museum 1926. Part II of The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1927), 37, figure 53.u; Kate Raphael, "A Thousand Arrowheads from the Crusader Fortress at Vadum Icob," in *In the Hill-Country and in the Shephelah, and in the Arabah (Joshua 12, 8): Studies and Researches Presented to Adam Zertal in the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Manasseh Hill-Country Survey*, ed. Shay Bar (Jerusalem, 2008), 263, figure 21.
- 40 Charles Green, "The Purpose of the Early Horseshoe," *Antiquity* 40 (1996): 307.
 - 41 John Clark, *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment c.1150–c.1450* (London, 2011), 75–123.
 - 42 Jochai Rosen, "Crusader-Period Horseshoes from Ḥorbat Bet Zeneta," *Atiqot* 39 (2000): 107–8; Lewis, *Archaeology of Conflicts*, 183–85.
 - 43 7.1, 7.3 and 7.5: eastern horseshoes, tenth to twentieth century; Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, 164, figure 6.2.10; Anthony Grey, "The Metalwork," in *Belmont Castle, The Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, eds. Richard P. Harper and Denys Pringle (Oxford and New York, 2000), 135, figure 11.3.38; 7.2, 7.4 European horseshoes twelfth–fourteenth century, Green, "The Purpose of," 307, figure 1; Grey, "The Metalwork," 135, figure 11.3.39; Johns 1936, 50, figure 15.13; Elias Khamis, "The Metal Objects," in *Yaqneam I: The Late Periods, Qedem Reports* 3, eds. Amnon Ben-Tor, Miriam Avissar, and Yuval Portugali (Jerusalem, 1996), 220, figure XVIII.2.2; Barbé, *Le château*, 333, figure 107.6; Ayelet Tatcher, "Miscellaneous Finds from Strata 5–1," in *Horbat Uza, The 1991 Excavations Volume II: Late Periods. IAA Reports* 42, eds. Nimrod Getzov, Dina Avshalom-Gorni, Yael Gorin-Rosen, Edna J. Stern, Danny Syon, and Ayelet Tatcher (Jerusalem, 2009), 184, figures 3.41.3–5.
 - 44 Figures 8.1–6 European violin key horseshoe nails c. twelfth–thirteenth century. Green, "The Purpose of," 307, figure 1; Gabrielle Demians d'Archimbaud, *Rougiers, Village medieval de Provence, approches archéologiques d'une société rural Méditerranéenne* (Université de Lille III, Lille, 1980), IV pl. 417.7–9; Bruna Maccari-Poisson, "Les objets et leurs fonction: métaux, os et pierre," in *Le château d'Essertines, Loire, Document d'archéologie en Rhône-Alpes*, ed. Françoise Piponnier (Lyon, 1993), 147, figure 105; Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, 164, figure 6.2.8; Grey "The Metalwork," 136, figure 11.4.59; Getzov, "An Excavation at," 100 figure 30.13. Figures 8.7–13 Eastern horseshoe nails c. tenth-to-twentieth century. Barbé, *Le château*, 333, figures 107.8–9; Khamis, "The Metal Objects," 222, figure XVIII.4.9, 14. Figures 8.14–5 Hobnails or tacks Hinton, "Miscellaneous Metal Objects," figures 360.4184–216. Figures 8.16–17 Tacks *ibid*, figures 361.4244–244.
 - 45 Figure 11.1 Ian H. Goodall, "Curry-Combs," in *Winchester Studies, Artifacts from Medieval Winchester, Part II*, ed. Martin Biddle (Oxford, 1990), 1047, figure 334.3889, 3894; John Clark, Geoff Egan, and Nick Griffiths, "Harness Fittings," in *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment c.1150–c.1450*, ed. John Clark (London, 2011), 47, figure 31. Figure 11.2 David A. Hinton, "Harness Pendants and Swivels," in *Winchester Studies, Artifacts from Medieval Winchester, Part II*, ed. Martin Biddle (Oxford, 1990), 1098 figure 355.4138. Figure 11.3 Chain (snaffle). Figure 11.4 Clark *et al.*, "Harness Fittings," 48–50, figures 33, 35–36; Ian H. Goodall, "Stirrups. Bridle Bits and Associated Strap-Fittings," in *Winchester Studies, Artifacts from Medieval Winchester, Part II*, ed. Martin Biddle (Oxford, 1990), 1047, figure 334.3895, 3897. Figure 11.5 Currycomb, Goodall, "Curry-Combs," 1053, figures 338.3936–38; John Clark "Curry Combs," in *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment c.1150–c.1450*, ed. John Clark (London, 2011), 164, figures 122–27. Figure 11.6 Small crowbar?
 - 46 Figure 12.1 Metal hook, Shimon Dar, *Toldot Ha Hermon* [History of the Hermon Mountain] (Tel Aviv, 1994), 358–59, pl. 20.4; Hinton, "Harness Pendants and Swivels," 1098, figure 245.2575; Johns, 1936, 50, figure 15.5, 7; Figure 12.2 Metal strap. Figures 12.3–4 S-shaped metal strap (maybe used for the tent ropes) Johns, 1936, 50 figures 15.6–7. Figure 12.5 Gilded copper alloy buckle with metal pin, Gladys R. Davidson, *Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by The American School*

- of *Classical Studies in Athens*, vol. XII: *The Minor Objects* (Princeton, 1952), pl. 115.2226; Johns, 1936, 50 figure 16.3; on Medieval buckles excavated in London, see Geoff Egan, "Buckles," in *Dress Accessories 1150–1450*, eds. Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard (London, 2010), 50–123. Figure 12.6 Metal buckle pin. Ian H. Goodall, "Iron Buckles and Belt-Fittings," in *Winchester Studies, Artifacts from Medieval Winchester, Part II*, ed. Martin Biddle (Oxford, 1990), 534, figure 140.1322. Figure 12.7 Gilded copper alloy buckle. Johns, 1936, 50, figure 16.11. Figure 12.8 A pointed base of a pilgrim's walking staff. Figure 12.9 Scrubbed armour piercing arrowhead; Dean, *The Exploration of*, 37, figure 53; Barbé, *Le château*, 348, figure 112.3; Raphael, "A Thousand," 263, figure 2; Davidson, *Corinth*, pl. 91.1529, 1530; Valérie Serdon, *Armes du diable, arcs arbalètes au Moyen Âge* (Rennes, 2005), 122, ty. L; Dar, *Toldot*, 358–59 pl. 20.14–15; Getzov, "An Excavation at," 99 figure 29.2; Khamis, "The Metal Objects," 218, figure XVIII.1.3. Figures 12.10–12 Armour piercing arrowheads Barbé, *Le château*, 348 figures 112.5–6; Raphael, "A Thousand," 263, figure 2; Serdon, *Armes du*, 122, ty k. Figure 12.13 Arrowhead with elliptical section (used against unarmed men and horses) Davidson, *Corinth*, pl. 92.1559; Grey, "The Metalwork," 135, figure 11.3.47; Khamis, "The Metal Objects," 219, figure XVIII.1.6; Raphael, "A Thousand," 264, figure 4; An almost identical arrowhead was found on the Battlefield of Arsuf, see Rafael Y. Lewis, "Carpe Momento: In Quest of the Material Evidence of the Battle of Arsuf (7 September 1191)," in *Apollonia II*, ed. Oren Tal (Tel Aviv, forthcoming), 377, figure 23.1.
- 47 The needles have a widened chisel-like head and were probably used for leather work. Another needle, with the same type of head, was found west of "Hodayot," during the Battle of Hatn Project, at the place where the Frankish forces crossed the watershed. See Lewis, *Archaeology of Conflicts*, 451, pl. 18.2.
 - 48 Found during the excavations conducted by Noa Shatil, excavation license A7912/2017, 4377/43544. Khamis, "The Metal Objects," 220, figure XVIII. 2.1; Blanche M.A. Ellis, "Spurs and Spur Fittings," in *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment c.1150–c.1450*, ed. John Clark (London, 2011), 131 figure 90; Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, 177 pl. 6.17.2.
 - 49 A plate for each one of the two cattle-claws; these were crescent shaped with the rounded part facing the outer part of the claw.
 - 50 Lewis, *Archaeology of Conflicts*, 183–85, 341–42, 447 pl. 14.6–7, 10, 449 pl. 16.3, 451 pl. 18.4–7, 452 pl. 19.5–7, 453 pl. 20.6, 454 pl. 21.4–6, 456–58 pl. 23–25; Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, 6.2.10; Getzov, "An Excavation at," 100, figures 30.7-9-11; Johns, 1936, 50, figures 15.12–13; Barbé, *Le château*, 333 figures 107.8–9; Khamis, "The Metal Objects," 20 figure XVIII.2.2; Green, "The Purpose of," 305–8.
 - 51 Clark, *The Medieval Horse*, 2011, 2 figures 1–3; the claw hammer found in Montfort by the Metropolitan Museum of Art expedition in 1926 may have been used for this purpose; Adrian J. Boas, "Stone, Metal, Wood and Worked Bone Finds from the 1926 Expedition," in *Montfort: History, Early Research and Recent Studies of the Principal Fortress of the Teutonic Order in the Latin East*, ed. Adrian J. Boas (Leiden and Boston, 2017), 212, pl. 18.27b.
 - 52 Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 35.
 - 53 Lewis, *Archaeology of Conflicts*, 464: pl. 31.6; Clark, "Horseshoes," 157–68.
 - 54 Lewis, *Archaeology of Conflicts*, 458: pl. 25.7; Goodall, "Curry-Combs," 1053, figures 338.3936–38; Clark, *The Medieval Horse*, 164, figures 122–27.
 - 55 The site was on the twelfth–thirteenth century pilgrimage route in the Galilee. It is interesting to note that one of the artefacts found in this study was the pointed base of a pilgrim's walking staff, Fig. 12.8.
 - 56 The two needles were found during the excavations conducted by Noa Shatil, excavation license A7912/ 2017, A2 L1103 B. 11018. Khamis, "The Metal Objects," 224, figures XVIII.5.1–4; Lewis, *Archaeology of Conflicts*, 451, pl. 18.2.

- 57 Another such arrow was found to the north of the excavation area by Yotam Tepper during salvage excavations on the top of a rock clearance pile, see Yotam Tepper, "Zippori," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot, Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 122 (Electronic Journal, 2010), figure 9, http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1516&mag_id=117. Retrieved April 2021.
- 58 Lewis, *Archaeology of Conflicts*, 342; Davidson, *Corinth*, pl. 92.1559; Grey, "The Metalwork," 135, figure 11.3.47; Khamis, "The Metal Objects," 219, figure XVIII.1.6; Raphael, "A Thousand," 264, figure 4.
- 59 In the Third Crusade, during the march to Jaffa, the Latin forces camped for at least one day for every day of their march down the coastline, and always by water. It will be interesting to learn in future studies if the pattern of artefact distribution from those encampments is similar to the ones presented in Saforie. During the Battle of Hattin, the Franks camped on the night of 3 July next to the pool of Maskana (Marescalcia/Manescalia). On this, and the potential of the pool as a reliable water source, see Horns, 200–1; Lewis, *Archaeology of Conflicts*, 352–53.
- 60 Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 97–98, 105–6; John France, "Crusading Warfare and its Adaptation to Eastern Conditions in the Twelfth Century," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 15/2 (2000): 49–66.
- 61 The results of the excavations taking place in this small tell conducted by the Center of Jewish Studies of Duke University under the direction of E.M. Meyers and C.L. Meyers haven't been published yet, but a water well or even an ancient water supply system can be seen on the northern side of the mound, and if it is earlier than the days of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, may have been used by the encamping forces.
- 62 Omar Zidan, "En Zippori," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot, Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 126 (Electronic Journal, 2014); Milevski and Getzov, "En Zippori," (2014).
- 63 Danny Syon, "Small Change in Hellenistic-Roman Galilee: The Evidence from Numismatic Site Finds as a Tool for Historical Reconstruction," *Numismatic Studies and Researches* 11 (2015): 202–3.
- 64 Catharine S. Bunnell, "Catalogue of the Coins," in *Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan Excavations at Sepphoris, Palestine, in 1931*, ed. Leroy Waterman (Ann Arbor, 1937), 35–52; Danny Syon, "Zippori," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot, Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 113 (2001): 23*.
- 65 David Michael Metcalf, "Coinage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Name of Baudouin," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 138 (1978): 71–84.
- 66 Milevski and Getzov, "En Zippori," (2014).
- 67 Gustav Beyer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Akko und Galilaea," *ZDPV* 67 (1944/5): 225; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1993–2009), vol. 2.
- 68 WT, 20:25; Lewis, *Archaeology of Conflicts*, 338–39.

4 Ex Mari Lux

The development of naval siege warfare in the crusading Levant

Pierre-Vincent Claverie

The coastal dimensions of the Holy Land are so obvious that in the Middle Ages Arabs used the word *Sahīl* (seashore) as synonymous with the Near East. The Franks shared this feeling with Sir John of Journy, who declared in 1288 that Acre, Sidon, Pilgrim's Castle, Tyre, Beirut, and Haifa were still standing only thanks to Cypriot support.¹ These facts intrigued me to engage with the enhanced naval siege warfare that occurred under Frankish rule, despite the mainly terrestrial dimension of the First Crusade. The logical effects of such warfare cannot be ignored, to the extent that the resistance of Jaffa in 1102 was strengthened by the appearance of the royal banner of Jerusalem on a ship.² I refer here to these testimonies as a background to my examination of the strategies adopted to conquer the Levantine harbours at the beginning of the twelfth century. Certain archaeological evidence too offers a fresh perspective on the counter-strategies that the Latins conceived in order to protect the cities of Ṭarṭūs, Acre, and Tyre during the Third Crusade and the War of Saint Sabas. Finally, I shall analyse the maritime rescue operations supervised by the crusaders between the Fatimid siege of Jaffa in 1102 and the fall of Ruad in 1302. The assistance of privateers and Italian fleets explains the promptness of these rescue responses, as well as the success of several operations that benefited from the good weather conditions.

The naval attacks during the Crusades

There is an ongoing debate regarding the originality of the poliorcetics developed by the Franks in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Several scholars have pointed to the influence of the Byzantine strategic treaties and the experience of the Normans in southern Italy. In the nineteenth century, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc noted the continuity of the Roman techniques throughout the Merovingian and Carolingian eras. Roman books, such as *De re militari* by Vegetius, saw continuous publication. For many centuries, the western armies continued to employ circumvallation and contravallation around their camps. Naval operations, however, were exceptional in late antiquity as the Mediterranean was entirely controlled by Roman forces. *De re militari* nonetheless describes the building techniques of the Liburnian galleys as well as the weapons and defences required for naval battles. In his commitment to synthesis, Vegetius pays attention to the periods of navigation and

the various winds blowing in the Mediterranean basin, while also quoting several extracts from Latin theoreticians like Cato the Elder, Frontinus, and Celsus. Within a few years *De re militari* had become the most popular warfare treaty of the Classical world, and its influence remained prominent in the Western and Byzantine military literature up to the end of the Middle Ages. Its distribution was ensured by vernacular translations as well as in richly illuminated manuscripts. Many Franks had thus become familiar with this book before the conquest of the Holy Land in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³

Several Syrian harbours lacked fortification and were unprepared to resist a naval attack. This was reflected in the absence of iron blocking chains and other maritime fortifications, as in the case of Latakia, which was conquered by the privateer Gunyemer of Boulogne in August 1097. The following year the harbour was taken by an English fleet on behalf of Robert Curthose, who ruled in Normandy. The advance of the crusaders was supported by 26 Genoese galleys and six navis, which reached Jaffa prior to the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. Jaffa became the natural main port of Jerusalem after the Holy City was captured by Godfrey of Bouillon. The Lotharingian duke then fortified the harbour of Jaffa with the assistance of Pisan workers. The Tuscan fleet was reinforced by 200 Venetian ships in June 1100. The Venetians offered their services to conquer the coastal cities, which had remained in Fatimid hands. However, the death of Godfrey of Bouillon postponed the siege of Acre that the Franks had wanted to undertake. The new Prince of Galilee, Tancred, took the opportunity to besiege Haifa, with Venetian support. The blockade of the city lasted one month owing to the resistance of the Jewish community there. Tancred was then challenged by Sir Galmier Charpinel, who had received the town from Godfrey of Bouillon. Tancred suspended the hostilities for two weeks, before receiving the support of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Only one Venetian still remained with the mangonel that had threatened Haifa during this period: Doge Vitale I Michiel, who decided to return to the high seas before launching a new maritime blockade in August 1100.⁴

A siege could last several years or even decades, such as the siege of Ascalon, which was only finally captured in 1153. The efforts of the Latins to control the Holy Land began in 1101 with the conquest of Arsuf and Caesarea along the Palestinian coast. Despite the threat of 40 Fatimid galleys, a Genoese fleet with 8,000 warriors reached Jaffa on April 15. After a brief pilgrimage to Jerusalem and to the Jordan River, the Genoese attacked Arsuf over the course of three days. Their determination led the inhabitants to surrender under the guarantee of spared lives. A similar option was not given to the population of Caesarea which was conquered on 17 May 1101. The *Genoese Annals* recount that the Ligurians rowed their galleys to shore before disembarking and destroying the city's gardens. The Genoese then undertook the construction of wooden castles and machines that could hasten the conquest of Caesarea. The operations were directed by the Consul Guglielmo Embriaco, who had acquired the soubriquet of "Hammerhead" due to his bravery. According to the annalist Caffaro, Guglielmo Embriaco took control of a tower in the city with the complicity of a Muslim collaborator. The crusaders spared the

lives of only a single group of merchants, who had found refuge in a mosque, and who redeemed their lives through the payment of ransom. The Genoese ferocity is confirmed by the Damascene chronicler, Ibn al-Qalānīsī, in his description of the conquest: "At the end of Rajab 494 [AH] also the Franks captured Qaisarīya by assault, with the assistance of the Genoese, killed its population and plundered everything in it." The contribution of the Ligurians was so decisive that they obtained a third of the booty taken in the city.⁵

A blockade was the only solution that could ensure the rapid conquest of the coastal cities. In 1103, the first siege of Acre failed, due to the intervention of 12 Fatimid galleys from Tyre and Sidon. The following year, the balance of power changed with the arrival in Latakia of 40 Genoese galleys and several Pisan ships. This fleet successfully besieged the cities of Jbail and Acre during the spring of 1104, and Jbail fell into the hands of Raymond of Saint-Gilles while Acre was conquered by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem. The surrender of these cities was facilitated by the use of catapults, which the Latin sources call *ballistas* (*tormenta lapidum*) or engines (*machine*). The Italian sailors brought with them many tree trunks and ropes to build these machines. In Acre, they committed a bloody massacre, possibly killing 4,000 Muslims who had sought to leave the city together with their possessions. This number cannot be confirmed, however, similar to that of the 20,000 Arabs whom the Franks possibly killed in Beirut in 1110. The siege of Beirut lasted six months and required many catapults, siege towers, and counterwalls. In February 1110, the forces of Count Bertrand of Toulouse were assisted by the Jerusalemite army. Until the town surrendered, the harbour was blocked by a Genoese and Pisan squadron, which received the support of several royal navis. It is probable that these ships had originally belonged to an Egyptian fleet that had been miraculously captured by the Franks in 1105 thanks to a tempest. Only a few of these 25 vessels were still able to sail, following the sinking of many of them along the Syrian coast during the summer. They constituted the initial core of the Jerusalemite navy, which included several escort ships called *saieties* in Old French. These vessels were smaller than the galleys and faster due to their tapered profile.⁶

The Frankish hegemony benefited from the conquest of two major ports, in 1109 and 1124. The first was the city of Tripoli, in front of which Raymond of Saint-Gilles had constructed the fortress of Montpèlerin in 1103. The taking of Tripoli was facilitated by the delayed arrival of the Egyptian fleet, which only reached the Lebanese coast after the siege had ended. The army of Bertrand of Toulouse besieged the city with the assistance of several hundred Jerusalemite, Antiochian, and Edessenian knights. A fleet of 60 or 70 Genoese galleys cut off the maritime supply of goods to Tripoli, which was ruled by the Banū 'Ammar dynasty. A few of the Ligurian sailors also took part in the land operations, with beams and siege weapons deployed on the vessels. The Genoese constructed many wooden castles and machines, destroying the walls of Tripoli and showed little restraint when the city surrendered on 12 July 1109. Despite the protection announced by Bertrand of Toulouse and the King of Jerusalem, the invading sailors climbed a stretch of ramparts and began to loot the town. These war crimes are attested to by Ibn

al-Athīr, whose chronicle accuses the Franks of sacking the town, taking the men prisoners and enslaving and torturing the women and children.⁷

The conquest of Tyre occurred against less favourable circumstances in 1124. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Gormond of Picquigny, was forced to concede a series of privileges to the Venetians in order to besiege the city by sea. Tyre was located on an impregnable peninsula, whose perimeter was protected from ground attack by three walls. Moreover, rising seawater also occasionally entered the eastern moat of the city and cut off the peninsula. The siege lasted five months, during which King Baldwin II of Jerusalem was a captive in Ḥarrān. According to Fulcher of Chartres, the Franks lost only 30 men in the siege operations, which were supported by 70 Venetian galleys. The Venetians built many catapults and blocked the narrow harbour of Tyre with a single galley. They acquired a third of the city after its surrender on 8 July 1124.⁸

These conditions led the Crown of Jerusalem to develop its fleet in the second half of the twelfth century. When Baldwin III decided to besiege Ascalon, he asked Lord Gerard of Sidon to block the maritime entrance to the city with 15 galleys, whose origin is not known. The Frankish squadron was forced to retreat, however, when 70 Fatimid ships brought supplies to Ascalon in June 1153. Strengthened by this support, the garrison in Ascalon resisted until 19 August. Fourteen years later, the Jerusalemite fleet was able to transport valuable military reinforcements to Egypt during the siege of Alexandria by King Amalric I. Amalric ordered the erection of a series of siege weapons constructed from the masts of the largest ships. The Franks also erected a wooden castle overlooking the walls of Alexandria, compelling Saladin to abandon the city in August 1167. Prince Reginald of Châtillon carried out an even more improbable expedition in the Red Sea at the beginning of 1183. He imported from Ascalon five galleys, in pieces, which he then reconstructed and besieged the island of Graye or Jazīrat Firaʿwn, south of Aqaba. His fleet of 16 ships terrorised the Muslim pilgrims before finally being defeated by Amir Husām ad-Dīn Lūʾ Lū.⁹

The following years were marked by major naval operations after the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187. A Genoese squadron took part in the siege of Acre under the direction of Consul Guido Spinola in 1189. According to the Genoese chronicler, Ottobono Scriba, the Ligurians fought vigorously, erecting many wooden castles, machines, and war instruments during their time in Syria. Two years later, two other Genoese consuls journeyed to Syria together with the King of France and local crusaders. In 1189, the Frankish navy took control of the eastern shores following the arrival of 500 Flemish and Scandinavian ships. In 1190, this armada was reinforced by a Venetian and Pisan fleet, which prevented supplies by the Ayyubids from reaching Acre. The Muslims, among other means, disguised their sailors as Frankish seamen in order to cross the blockade, albeit not always successfully. In 1191, King Richard the Lionheart seized a Muslim boat coming from Beirut with a cargo of weapons, Greek fire, and 200 snakes that were intended to terrify the besiegers of Acre. The Muslim sailors pretended to be Genoese, but were unmasked and their ship sunk by the English galleys. The Englishmen spared only the admiral and 34 seamen who

were skilled at making machines. The determined crusaders finally reconquered Acre on 12 July 1191.¹⁰

The defences of the Frankish ports

As early as the twelfth century, the Latins understood the need to fortify their harbours to prevent a possible Muslim reconquest. In the case of Acre, archaeologists have uncovered the foundations of the southern quay and the eastern mole that protected the city's inner port. The Franks closed the port off with a blocking chain stretching between a square tower to the west and the Tower of the Flies, whose ruins are still visible today. The maritime walls of the city were constructed of rough stone in order to resist external impacts. This precaution proved useful, for the Mamelukes deployed several giant mangonels from their ships during the final siege of Acre in 1291. The port of Acre was naturally defended by its shallow waters, which obliged most of the medieval ships to anchor in the open bay that extended to south of the city.¹¹ This configuration explains the decisive victory of the Venetians against a Genoese fleet in 1258. According to the *Zibaldone da Canal* treaty, 70 barques arriving from Acre helped the Venetian and Pisan fleet to overcome 49 galleys arriving from Liguria. This was a humiliating defeat for Genoa, which lost 25 galleys and 2,400 sailors in one day. The smaller cities of Syria too possessed inner ports, such as Sidon, whose access had been controlled by a sea castle and a fortified bridge since 1228. In the county of Tripoli, the Templar castle of Tortosa (Ṭartūs) was defended by a maritime curtain wall and a dungeon reinforced with two salients on its seaward sides. From these square bastions and dovescotes, the Templars communicated with other coastal cities in times of siege. The Templar brethren apparently used this maritime postern to evacuate Ṭartūs on 3 August 1291.¹²

The most favourable harbour was obviously Tyre, whose eastern moat was widened by Conrad of Montferrat when Saladin's army sought to conquer the city in 1187. The travel chronicle of Ibn Jubayr describes in detail the port infrastructure during the decade preceding the unsuccessful siege of Saladin:

The seaward gate is flanked by two strong towers and leads into a harbour whose remarkable situation is unique among maritime cities. The walls of the city enclose it on three sides, and the fourth is confined by a mole bound with cement. Between the two towers stretches a great chain which, when raised, prevents any coming in or going forth, and no ships may pass save when it is lowered. At the gate stand guards and trusted watchers, and none can enter or go forth save under their eyes. The beauty of the site of this port is truly wonderful. Acre resembles it in situation and description, but cannot take the large ships, which must anchor outside, small ships being able to enter. The port of Tyre is more complete, more beautiful and more animated.

This extraordinary location facilitated a naval feat by the Templars and Hospitallers on 30 December 1187. The knights took advantage of the darkness to

capture 11 Egyptian galleys that were attempting to block the port. The brethren boarded 17 Frankish galleys and ten small ships moored behind the walls of Tyre. They cooperated so closely with the troops of Conrad of Montferrat that their squadron captured the admiral of the Alexandrian fleet, together with eight high-ranking officers.¹³

On many occasions, the Franks reused pre-existing materials to reinforce the harbour structures. Ancient columns were inserted vertically or horizontally into the walls of Ascalon, Caesarea, and Sidon. Applying a French technique, the theatre at Jabala or Jableh was transformed into a castle through the adjunction of towers.¹⁴ In the southern Levant, the port of Caesarea was protected by a peninsular sea castle from 1217–1218 during the Fifth Crusade. The perimeter of the castle was defended by two square towers whose platforms could shelter catapults directed at the port and the city. In 1265, when Baybars conquered the city, the castle garrison fled by sea to Acre. As in Tyre and Acre, access to the port was limited by a chain stretching between a maritime wall and an isolated tower. Moreover, the city featured an outer port resulting from the construction of a column jetty in front of the sea castle. The Pilgrim's Castle too enjoyed direct access to the sea following the construction of a jetty oriented to the south. The Templars transported many refugees to 'Atlit by boat when the Mamelukes entered Acre in 1291.¹⁵ A similar configuration was shared too by the Cypriot castle of Gastria near which the Templars built an estuary harbour. On the same island, the ports of Famagusta and Kyrenia were defended by two blocking chains and two massive castles, which were never taken by force. However, in October 1373 the Genoese captured the castle of Famagusta with the collaboration of the Count of Edessa, John of Morf.¹⁶

The rescue operations

Thanks to their Atlantic and Channel naval experience, the Franks quickly became experts in naval rescue operations. For two centuries, they had employed many types of vessels, including small boats like the *saieties*, *ganguemeles*, and galleons. As early as 1102, King Baldwin I journeyed to Jaffa by boat while the city was being besieged by both sea and land. His small galley or *busse* escaped a Fatimid squadron and entered the harbour to bring comfort to the citizens, who were about to surrender. In 1187, the Piemontese Marquis, Conrad of Montferrat, reached Tyre by sea during the negotiations of its surrender to Saladin. Despite Conrad's modest household, his determination convinced the Tyrians to resist the Ayyubids, notwithstanding the promise of its surrender made by Lord Reginald of Sidon.¹⁷ Another foreign intervention contributed to preserving several coastal cities controlled by the Latins. In the spring of 1188, King William II of Sicily sent to the Holy Land 60 ships and 200 knights under the command of Fleet Admiral Megareites. Despite its naval blunders, the Sicilian fleet prevented Saladin from conquering Tyre, Tripoli, and Margat. Megareites was less successful with the city of Latakia, which capitulated to the Muslims the day following his fleet's arrival on 22 July 1188. Another major rescue operation was that of the expedition to

the east by Philip Augustus and Richard the Lionheart in 1190–1191. Richard arrived with an English fleet of 100 ships while Philip's 10,000 men crossed the Mediterranean on Genoese ships. The chronicler Rigord contends that the King of France was welcomed with hymns, praise, and tears of joy by the Franks, who had been besieging Acre for two years. Immediately upon arrival, Philip ordered his engineers to erect the machines and catapults conveyed by his vessels. The French fleet remained active right up to the end of the siege, capturing in the waters of Tyre a Muslim ship charged with supplying Acre.¹⁸

In the thirteenth century, the rescue operations increased with the weakening of the Second Kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1247, Ascalon suffered a maritime and terrestrial siege that compelled the King of Cyprus to dispatch a rescue force comprising eight galleys, two galleons, and 100 knights. Despite the sinking of 22 Egyptian ships during a storm, the Cypriot squadron failed to rescue the city with the fleet, which had been armed in Acre. The 65 Frankish vessels were only able to supply the garrison of Ascalon before needing to return to Acre.¹⁹ The Seventh Crusade stabilised the Latin possessions in the Levant despite the failure of the French campaign in Egypt. In 1254, Louis IX conferred upon the brethren of Saint Lazarus the privilege of free anchorage for two navis annually in Aigues-Mortes. This commitment to the defence of the Holy Land was shared by other rulers as well as by the Papacy, which feared a Mameluke conquest of the Frankish coastline after 1260. No Frankish forces were able to overcome this threat after the death of King Louis IX near Tunis in 1270. In April 1289, the taking of Tripoli by the Muslims was marked by many atrocities, which the rescue fleet sent from Acre had been unable to prevent. The memoir of Abū al-Fidā recount the stench of the corpses that the Amir had witnessed on the island of Saint-Thomas, where some Tripolitans had tried in vain to escape. This tragedy convinced Pope Nicholas IV to send 20 rescue galleys to Acre in 1290. Commanded by Bishop Bernard of Tripoli, this fleet nonetheless failed to prevent the fall of the city in May 1291.²⁰

In 1302, the Franks organised a final rescue fleet after the fall of the island of Ruad, where the Templars had established their headquarters in order to confront the Mamelukes. The Cypriot and Hospitaller fleets, however, could do little else but note the conquest of the island by 20 Egyptian ships, before returning to Famagusta. In this operation, the Latins finally lost all hope of reconquering the *Sahil*, as well as losing 2,000 fighters to captivity.²¹ All the examples presented here demonstrate the importance of the naval siege warfare during the Crusades. Following the Roman tradition, the major ships carried on board catapults and other siege weapons. When required, the vessel masts could be disassembled and used as towers and catapult elements. In order to ensure efficiency, a naval blockade required a large fleet that could besiege a city and repel any possible rescue fleet. Similar to the ships in antiquity, the Frankish galleys were equipped with rostra and protected by archers and lateral shields. Although the Italians would seem to have been the best engineers at the time, several other nations also acquired technical ability and experience, such as the French, the Scandinavians, and the English. A crucial role was played too by the English privateer Godric, who conveyed King Baldwin I to Jaffa in his *busse* in 1102. Such engineering advantages and naval battle techniques

prevailed as long as the Italian fleets remained committed to fighting the naval incursions of the Muslim ships along the Syro-Palestinian shores. Indeed, it was their involvement in the fourteenth century that facilitated the military expeditions of King Peter I of Cyprus against the Muslim ports of the Levant.

Notes

- 1 John of Journi, *La dîme de pénitance, altfranzösisches Gedicht verfasst im Jahre 1288 von Jehan von Journi*, ed. Hermann Breymann (Tübingen, 1874), v. 3178–194, p. 89.
- 2 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), 646–49.
- 3 Michel Balard, “La poliorcétique des croisés lors de la première croisade,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 25 (1999): 221–30; Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Essai sur l’architecture militaire au Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1854), 22; Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*, ed. Michael D. Reeve (Oxford, 2004), 145–59; Geoffrey Hindley, *Medieval Sieges and Siegecraft* (New York, 2014), 162–65.
- 4 Ferdinand Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d’Alexis I^{er} Comnène (1081–1118)* (Paris, 1900), 210–12; Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Marjorie Chipnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1975), 5:270–73; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 516–21.
- 5 Luigi Tommaso Belgrano, ed., *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de’ suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, 2 vols. (Genoa, 1890), 1:7–13, 117–18; Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, trans. Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb (London, 1932), 51.
- 6 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 668–75, 786–91; L.T. Belgrano, *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de’ suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, 1:13–14, 121–22; Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 462–64, 534–36, 502.
- 7 Belgrano, ed., *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de’ suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, 1:14, 122–23; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 526–33; Donald Sidney Richards, trans., *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fi’l-ta’rīkh*, 3 vols. (Aldershot, 2006), 1:149.
- 8 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 728–30; Andrea Dandolo, *Chronicon*, RIS 12: col. 270–71; D.S. Richards, trans., *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fi’l-ta’rīkh*, 1: 251–53.
- 9 WT, 2: 792–95, 797–805, 901–8; John Pryor, *The Age of the Dromōn: The Byzantine Navy Ca 500–1204* (Leiden, 2006), 109, 115, 416; Pierre Aubé, *Un croisé contre Saladin. Renaud de Châtillon* (Paris, 2007), 186–97.
- 10 Luigi Tommaso Belgrano, Cesare Imperiale di Sant’Angelo, eds., *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de’ suoi continuatori dal MCLXXIV al MCCXXIV*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1901), 2:32–33, 36; Andrea Dandolo, *Chronicon*, col. 312–14; William Stubbs, ed., *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi* (London, 1864), 206–9, 232–34.
- 11 Ruthy Gertwagen, “The Crusader Port of Acre: Layout and Problems of Maintenance,” in *Autour*, 553–82.
- 12 Alfredo Stussi, ed., *Zibaldone da Canal. Manoscritto mercantile del sec. XIV* (Venice, 1967), 100–1; Mathias Piana, “A Bulwark Never Conquered: The Fortifications of the Templar Citadel of Tortosa on the Syrian Coast,” in *Archaeology and Architecture of the Military Orders: New Studies*, eds. Mathias Piana and Christer Carlsson (Farnham and Burlington, 2014), 133–71.
- 13 Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. Ronald J.C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), 319–20; Marianne Salloch, ed., *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus* (Greifswald, 1934), 87–88. In 1263, the Venetians failed to take Tyre by sea.

- 14 Louis Jacquemin, *Monographie de l'amphitéâtre d'Arles*, 2 vols. (Arles, 1845), 2: 235.
- 15 Jean Mesqui, *Césarée maritime. Ville fortifiée du Proche-Orient* (Paris, 2014), 116–19, 233–56; Johns, ed. Pringle, 1997, 50–52.
- 16 James Petre, *Crusader Castles of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2012), 197–200, 151–96, 231–55.
- 17 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 646–49; WT, 1:480; Louis de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* (Paris, 1871), 180–83.
- 18 Andreas Kiesewetter, “Margarito (Megareites) di Brindisi,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 70 (2008): 109–13; Henri-François Delaborde, ed., *Œuvres de Rigord et Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe Auguste*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1882), 1:108–10.
- 19 Peter Edbury, “A New Text of the Annales de Terre Sainte,” in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, eds. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2007), 154; *Estoire d'Eracles*, in *RHC Oc* 2:433–34. The Frankish fleet included fifteen galleys and fifty galleons, *saietes* and *ganguemeles*.
- 20 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms lat. 9778, fol. 250 v, col. a; Judith Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land, Financing the Latin East, 1187–1274* (Woodbridge, 2005), 47–63; Francesco Gabrieli, trans., *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Abingdon, 2010), 341–46.
- 21 René de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891), 1:238–39.

Part 2

‘Atlit Castle



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5 The Templars and ‘Atlit

Helen J. Nicholson

The Templars held many famous castles, but arguably “Castle Pilgrim,” or ‘Atlit, is now the most famous of all.¹ Incorporating the latest developments in defensive architecture, it never fell to siege and was abandoned only when it was clear that the Franks’ holdings on the Syrian-Palestinian mainland were lost without hope of relief.² This chapter sets out to provide an overview of the history of the castle whose 800th anniversary is commemorated in this volume. It will focus on how the castle was portrayed by the Templars and their contemporaries in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and consider what the castle meant for the Templars.³

The construction of the castle was made famous by Oliver of Paderborn or Scholasticus, who included in his history of the Fifth Crusade what could be termed a publicity document for the Templars.⁴ R.B.C. Huygens has pointed out its similarity to the later *De constructione castri Saphet*, and its function was presumably the same: to publicise the order’s work among potential and actual patrons in the West and raise funds.⁵ However, Oliver was not in the East when construction of the castle began: Jacques of Vitry, bishop of Acre, recorded that Oliver arrived in the country in 1218, after the construction of the castle was well advanced.⁶ Jacques himself was the first commentator to mention the building work. In a letter of late summer 1218 he recorded that during the previous winter, while the rest of the crusade army including the Hospitallers were occupied in fortifying Caesarea, the Templars had pressed on with the work of building a new fortress:

Where they poured so many and such great riches that it’s a marvel from where they received them; for that castle has already damaged the Saracens more than the whole army of the Christians has done.⁷

The source of these funds might have been a marvel, but it was not a mystery. Oliver of Paderborn later mentioned that the builders had found a hoard of silver coins, and the construction was further assisted by donations, of which more below.⁸

Jacques implied that no one other than the Templars was involved in building the castle. Yet, in his *Historia Damiatina*, Oliver of Paderborn informed his readers that others were involved:

But the Templars with Lord Walter of Avesnes and a few auxiliary pilgrims and the Hospital of the house of the Teutons began to fortify the Castle of pilgrims, which was formerly called Destroit.⁹

However, in a letter to the archbishop and clergy of Cologne written in late summer 1218 Oliver mentioned only the Templars, “a few auxiliary pilgrims and the hospital of the house of the Teutons.”¹⁰ So although not only the Templars were involved in the construction, they claimed the initiative.

Oliver also recorded that the Templars, the Poor Knights of Christ, dedicated their new state-of-the-art castle to God’s Son, Christ, naming it “Castrum filii Dei,” but added that it was: “nunc Castrum peregrinorum a quibusdam apellatur” (now called the Castle of the Pilgrims by certain people).¹¹ He did not explain who these “peregrini” were, but the word could have referred to the crusaders who built it.

The primary advantage that this castle gave the Templars, according to Oliver, was spiritual improvement. He stated that the Templars’ convent had now left the city of Acre, which was full of sin and all filth, and the Templars would reside in this castle until the walls of Jerusalem could be repaired (“usque ad reparationem murorum Jerusalem”).¹² ‘Atlit, then, was intended as a temporary replacement for their headquarters in Jerusalem. Oliver next emphasised the economic advantage offered by the castle: its territory abounded in fisheries, salt pans, woods, pastures, fields and plants (or grass; literally: “herbs”) and delighted the inhabitants with existing and potential vineyards, gardens, and orchards.¹³

Then, Oliver pointed out the military advantage gained through this castle: between Acre and Jerusalem the Saracens held no fortifications, so that the unbelievers had now been forced to abandon the *loca culta*, or cultivated places.¹⁴ Oliver explained that the new castle prevented any farmer in the long, wide plain between ‘Atlit and Mount Tabor from being able to plough, sow, or reap securely, because of their fear of those inhabiting this castle. He was wrong in stating that the castle is only six miles distant from Mount Tabor, but his point that the construction of this castle led to the destruction of the Muslim fortress on Mount Tabor was valid.¹⁵

Oliver added that the castle had a naturally good port, which could be made better with some additional construction work.¹⁶ As Adrian Boas has pointed out, the port remained too small to be competition with or a replacement for Acre.¹⁷ Nevertheless, in May 1218 the crusaders’ ships assembled at “the castle of God’s Son” before setting out for Egypt, so clearly the position of the port was convenient.¹⁸

In short, Oliver’s publicity document demonstrated that the Templars’ new castle had already been of benefit to Christendom, and that the brothers were actively working for the expansion of Christianity. Although Oliver prioritised the spiritual gains to be made from the new fortress, he and his readers were clearly aware of its military role, and his later references to it focussed on that role. His

letter of late summer 1218 described to his colleagues in Cologne how the newly built castle had withstood an attack from the Saracens:

The sultan attacking this castle with a multitude of Saracens in order to destroy or seize the beginnings of the fortifications, retreated, repulsed by the virtue [or strength] of the Highest.¹⁹

Oliver also described an abortive siege among the events of 1219 in his *Historia Damiatina*. In this account, Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa Sharaf ad-Din, sultan of Damascus (whom the western sources called "Coradin"), left Egypt and returned to Palestine, where he besieged the castle of Caesarea and quickly captured it because the defenders were negligent – they almost all escaped by sea. He then proceeded to "the castle of God's Son" with all his army, but after considering it from all sides, found the Templars had made their castle stronger with provisions and armaments and were ready for every danger. He wisely concluded that the castle could not be taken. At the same time, the Templars from Acre repulsed some Saracen bandits, killing some and capturing others. "Coradin" therefore appealed to Saracens ("Sarracenis") to come from the east to besiege Acre, but no help was forthcoming because of the discord between the princes of their land, which the caliph was trying to pacify. In the following year, 1220, "Coradin" destroyed the Templars' castle of *Saphet* (Safita, that is, Chastel Blanc).²⁰

Oliver went on to recount that in autumn 1220 "Coradin" returned and ravaged Palestine.²¹ The Templars, realising that he wanted to besiege "the Castle of God's Son," began to demolish the upper part of the now deserted nearby tower of Destroit. Coradin came up and destroyed it, and then besieged 'Atlit with a multitude of Turks, extending his tents from the river in the north to the saltpans in the south. As it was now October, he did not expect many more overseas reinforcements to reach the Christians that year. Oliver describes "Coradin's" tactics, setting up a trebuchet, three *petrarias* (literally, stone-throwers) and four mangonels, which hurled stones against the fortifications by day and night. Yet – according to Oliver – these machines could not move even one stone from its place: the castle remained impregnable. The castle's own trebuchet, with a *petraria* and a mangonel, broke the enemy's trebuchet and mangonel.²²

Oliver assured his readers that during the siege 4,000 warriors were daily refreshed in the Templars' hall (whose location within the castle is currently unclear). He did not state whether these warriors were all fully-professed Templars, but given that even before Saladin's victories of 1187 the Templars had only around 300 knights in the kingdom of Jerusalem, it is most likely that these 4,000 included mercenaries and temporary members as well as Templar knights and armed sergeants.²³ In addition, others had come at their own expense to defend the castle and to sell provisions from Acre.²⁴

Meanwhile, in Egypt, the legate hastily sent messengers and letters to the Queen of Cyprus (Alice of Champagne) and Christian barons of Syria, asking them to give aid. In the face of this crisis, he even gave the Master of the Temple permission to depart from the crusade in Egypt with a force of Templars and

return to 'Atlit to fight "Coradin." The Cypriots brought a great force of knights and expenses, as did the Lord of Tripoli (Bohemond IV), while the Lord of Beirut (John of Ibelin), and Guy of Gibelet, with other *poulains* (Franks from the Latin East), speedily made preparations to send assistance. When "Coradin" got wind of the approach of these reinforcements through his spies and information from Christian traitors, he withdrew, "much damaged by the people of the castle both in men and in horses."²⁵ Oliver praised God for the victory, claiming that although many of the defenders were injured, few died. "The Highest," he wrote, "had protected this house constructed in honour of the Son of God, and which was like a fore-wall (or bulwark) of the city of Acre. May the guard of angels be on its walls until the end of the age!"²⁶

Oliver went on to state that he had heard from "our spies" and seen from the corpses laid in the field that three emirs were killed there and two hundred *mameloti* (Mamluks) who were most learned in arms, "but there was no calculation of how many of the archers and those drawing the machines [were] killed by our crossbowmen (who were three hundred)." He added: "In one day a hundred and twenty horses of great price were killed, among them one bought for fourteen thousand drachmas, which Seraphus sultan of Aleppo sent as a gift to a certain emir; the Saracens also sustained very much damage in other horses and camels."²⁷

Jacques of Vitry, in a letter of 18 April 1221 to Pope Honorius III and a range of secular lords and ecclesiastics, also included a brief description of this second attack on the new castle during the crusade campaign in Egypt:

[T]he sultan of Egypt procured every method by which he could molest and render our army weaker by dividing it into many parts; whence he instructed his brother Coradin, sultan of Damascus, to besiege the new fortification in the Acre region, which is called Castle Pilgrim. From which it happened that many left our army, hastening to help the castle, and the people of Acre did not come to our army before Damietta.²⁸

But later in the letter, he explained that despite this setback the sultan's position in Egypt was growing steadily worse:

Especially since the Saracens had fights and disagreements between themselves and the King of Damascus, Coradin, who had besieged Castle Pilgrim, retreated in great confusion, many of his people having been killed.²⁹

So 'Atlit quickly established its reputation as an impregnable fortress that could withstand the strongest enemy attack, house thousands of knights, and enable the Franks to gain an advantage over their opponents.

The new fortification attracted generous donations from the crusaders. Oliver recorded that at the spring crossing of 1219, when the duke of Austria and the earl of Chester left the crusade and returned to their homes, the duke gave the "the Templars' new castle" ("castro Templariorum novo") 50 gold marks, in addition

to a gift of 6,000 silver marks to the Teutonic order; while the earl gave 500 silver marks for fortifying the castle's walls and towers.³⁰

Oliver's account of the construction of the fortress was copied by many other German and English chroniclers, some in great detail, others more briefly, further publicising the Templars' achievement.³¹ In 1222, Pope Honorius III also wrote on the Templars' behalf, urging his readers to give alms to help support the new fortress.³² The Templars also promoted the castle themselves: when the Grand Master of the Temple, Peter of Montaigu (1219–1232), wrote to the bishop of *Elimenum* (probably Elne) in 1221 about the capture of Damietta, he also reported that "Coradin," Sultan of Damascus, had besieged "Castrum nostrum quod Peregrinorum dicitur" (our castle which is called "of the Pilgrims") and done the Templars "dispendia multimedia" (all kinds of injury) but had not captured it.³³ The *Annales de Terre Sainte*, probably written in the Latin East, also noted the Templars' construction of the castle.³⁴

However, later writers did not always give the Templars so much credit for constructing 'Atlit. The so-called "Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation" of the Old French translation of William of Tyre's "History," which was probably compiled in the late 1240s, included the Templars among the builders of the castle, but stated that it was Walter of Avesnes who gave the castle the name "Chasteau Pelerin," and he said he would be its *parrein* (godfather), and placed a thousand Saracen besants on the first stone, towards the cost of the work.³⁵ The account known as the *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, written in French in the 1230s, stated that the castle was named *Castel Pelerin* because it was the pilgrims who began to construct it ("por ce que li pelerin le commencierent à fremer"), and the Templars held it only because it was built on their land.³⁶ This account briefly mentioned a siege by "Coradix," which took place after "Coradix" had attacked Acre and captured Caesarea, and which was quickly raised because Coredix's brother, the sultan of Egypt, asked him to send him aid in Egypt.³⁷

"Ernoul-Bernard" also indicated the castle's political significance. The account of the Emperor Frederick II's crusade of 1228–1229 includes the following anecdote about the emperor:

There was a castle of the Temple which was named *Castiaus Pelerins*; and he went in. When he was within, he found the castle well garrisoned and very strong. He said that he wished to have the castle, and that they should evacuate it, and he sent for his men to garrison it. The Templars ran to the gates and shut them, and said that if he did not go, they would put him in such a place from which he would never get out. The emperor saw that he had no force at all within there and that he was not at all well-loved in the land, so he evacuated the castle and went to Acre, and had his people armed, and went to the house of the Temple. He wanted to take it and knock it down, and the Templars defended it well, until it became clear to the emperor that he was wasting his time, so he withdrew. He departed from Acre and went to Jaffa, where he fortified the castle and informed the sultan that he would keep the agreements for which he had crossed the sea.³⁸

Peter Edbury has established that the so-called “Chronicle of Ernoul and Bernard the Treasurer,” was compiled after 1230, soon after 1232.³⁹ The author was an admirer of John de Brienne (King of Jerusalem 1210–1225), but not of the Templars. He was initially favourable towards the Emperor Frederick II, but after Frederick married John de Brienne’s daughter Isabel and the two rulers quarrelled, “Ernoul-Bernard” depicts the emperor as cruel, devious, treacherous, an enemy of Christians, and a friend of their enemies. Hence, his story of the emperor’s attack on the Templars’ castle may be no more than a malicious fabrication against the emperor.⁴⁰

In contrast, the eyewitness account of Frederick’s crusade by Philip of Novara does not mention this episode. Philip stated that the emperor was in bad (*fu mau*) with all the people of Acre and especially with the Templars, and that he besieged the Templars, but implied that this was a siege of their house at Acre, not ‘Atlit.⁴¹ In fact, he did not mention ‘Atlit by name at all.

Indeed, after the blast of publicity that heralded its construction, references to ‘Atlit in contemporary and near-contemporary accounts are frustratingly few and brief. However, the so-called “Templar of Tyre,” the former secretary of Templar Grand Master William of Beaujeu (1273–1291), and writing in the early fourteenth century, alluded to ‘Atlit (which he calls Chasteau or Chastiau Pelerin) several times, granting us tantalising glimpses of its role in the workings of the order. For example, he recorded that while King Louis IX of France was in the Holy Land in spring 1249, before he went on to Egypt, he sent for his wife, Queen Margaret, to come to Acre, “and from Acre she went to Chastiau Pelerin, which is of the Temple and is on the sea near to Acre seven leagues (*vii liues*) away.”⁴² Yet although the Queen of France stayed at ‘Atlit, we do not know where in the compound she was accommodated, or how many ladies in waiting and men-at-arms accompanied her and had to be accommodated. In 1251, King Louis established a garrison of knights, squires and sergeants at his expense at ‘Atlit: we know this because at the end of October 1251 the two commanders of the garrison wrote to him asking him to send their pay.⁴³ So, unlike Frederick II, Louis IX obtained control of ‘Atlit – by paying for its garrison. Over half a century later, John of Joinville, seneschal of Champagne (d. 1317), wrote in his “Life” of Louis that the master of the Temple was godfather to the Count of Alençon, who was born at Chastel Pelerin in 1251.⁴⁴ The Templars’ original Rule did not allow Templars to act as godparents, but presumably, an exception could be made for such significant patrons as the King and Queen of France.⁴⁵

Many of the subsequent references to the castle in Latin and Muslim sources mention it as the focus of raids, when the land around it was devastated, but the castle was not taken. Joinville mentioned one such raid.⁴⁶ The English commentator Walter of Guisborough, writing around 1305, mentioned that the Lord Edward (later King of England, 1272–1307), during his crusade of 1271–1272 led a raid from Acre as far as *Castrum Peregrinorum quod super mare situatur*, spent a night there with “other Christians,” and then returned to Acre.⁴⁷ Ibn al-Furāt, an Egyptian historian writing in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (d. 1405), mentions ‘Atlit few times in the context of focus of raids by Baybars and his forces.

For example, in the month of Ramadan 662 AH (summer 1264) the sultan ordered the emir Nāṣir al-Dīn to raid Caesarea and 'Atlit. "He rode to the gate . . . and plundered, killed and took prisoners" and then did the same at Caesarea. The purpose of the raid was to forestall a Frankish attack: the Franks were mustering at Jaffa, but withdrew as a result of the raids.⁴⁸ Baybars went on to capture and demolish Caesarea in the following year, and then "went with a light force towards 'Athlīth," while he sent other generals to Haifa. Haifa was captured, but 'Atlit was not. The sultan ordered the castle to be ravaged and the trees felled. This was done and "the buildings there were destroyed on that day," but the castle was not captured. Ibn al-Furāt wrote that Baybars:

Gave the infidels a taste of regret – and what a regret – for after this first experience, he would surely bring back to them the fate of death. He turned his horse's reins aside from 'Athlīth but it still lay within their reach; he had changed the hour but his aim at his target there was true and the postponement was to a fixed time. He had seen that he should take in hand 'Athlīth's certain fate and he left its people as losers in its respect, cutting them to the heart before cutting off their town's provisions.⁴⁹

Yet, this indicates that only the *faubourg* (town or suburb) was destroyed; the castle did not fall to Baybars. Again, in the following year (664 AH: AD 1265) Baybars and his general ravaged the region around Acre: "with the Sultan in the region of Acre and the emir Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Qaimarī at 'Athlīth."⁵⁰

The "Templar of Tyre" included a few more references to 'Atlit that give us a wider image of the castle, as a port, a centre of military forces, and an occasional residence of the gmaster. For example, in 1258, a naval battle took place between the Venetians and the Pisans on the one hand and the Genoese on the other, in which many Genoese galleys were captured. Five Genoese galleys fled, two of which got as far as 'Atlit, but were captured by the Venetians.⁵¹ In 1260, the Templar contingent that took part in a disastrous defeat in northern Galilee included Templars from Acre, Saphet, 'Atlit, and Beaufort.⁵² Under 1287, in the course of describing various events in the ongoing negotiations involving Orlando Ascheri and Tommaso Spinola, Prince Bohemond of Tripoli, and the Sultan of Alexandria (al-Mansūr Qalāwūn), the "Templar of Tyre" mentions that the master of the Temple was at 'Atlit, and Mailliant of Piombino went there in his barque to talk to him and to take his leave to go overseas – although in fact, he was intending to go to Alexandria⁵³ – indicating that, first, the grand master stayed at the castle and, second, that visitors came by sea.

A letter of 1299 from King James II of Aragon to the grand commander of the Temple, Brother Florentino de Velu, reveals that 'Atlit had also acted as a safe-deposit for merchants. The king recorded that a Pisan merchant, Bundus de Campo, and Colus de Campo, his brother, had previously sent 17 marks and one ounce of gold to Perozzo of Pisa, who was then in overseas parts. Brother William of Beaujeu, then Master of the Order of the Temple (thus dating this transaction to before William's death at the fall of Acre, 18 May 1291), had had this money,

along “with no small quantity of other gold and silver and other money belonging to various merchants,” placed and conserved at ‘Atlit, so that it could not fall into the hands of the attacking Saracens. In 1299, the money was still preserved in the hands and treasury of the Templars’ house, and King James asked the grand commander to arrange for the money to be returned to Colus de Campo.⁵⁴

‘Atlit was listed separately in truces and peace treaties between the Franks and the sultan of Egypt. This demonstrates that it was a separate lordship and gives some idea of its influence in comparison to other centres. The castle was mentioned in the peace treaty concluded after the disaster of Mansourah in February 1250 in the list of properties the Christians held, just after Caesarea, as “Castrum Peregrinum.”⁵⁵ The truce negotiated between Baybars and Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan, King of Jerusalem (1269–1284) in the first half of 1268 specifies that ‘Atlit had five villages, plus an unspecified number in condominium or shared lordship.⁵⁶ The peace treaty of 1283 between the Mamluk Sultan al-Mansūr Qalāwūn on the one hand and the *bailli* of the Kingdom of Acre and the leaders of the three great military-religious orders (the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic order) on the other, listed ‘Atlit separately and associated 16 localities with it. The treaty guaranteed the territories of both parties: on the Christian side this covered Acre, Sidon, and ‘Atlit. The treaty forbade all fortification of Christian possessions outside Acre, Sidon, and ‘Atlit; and the masters of the military orders had to give the sultan two months’ warning of any forthcoming crusade.⁵⁷ They also had to instruct the local people not to give water or food to pirates or allow them to take them.⁵⁸

Discussing this treaty, Steven Tibble pointed out that in 1283 ‘Atlit’s landholdings were greater than any other Frankish centre except Acre: while ‘Atlit was defined as having 16 localities attached to it, Sidon had 15, Carmel 13, and Haifa seven. Only Acre was recorded as having more localities than ‘Atlit.⁵⁹

In sum, this was a significant fortress. It could accommodate a queen and her suite, it had a port in which galleys could seek refuge, it provided sufficiently significant military forces to be listed separately in a muster, and administered a significant area. The Grand Master was accommodated there occasionally, it acted as a safe deposit, and it was of sufficient strategic importance for the sultan to wish to raze it to the ground – but despite repeated attacks, it remained invulnerable.

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The evidence discussed so far was recorded by outsiders. How did the Templars themselves regard their fortress?

The Templars’ regulations offer some insights into the castle’s role within the order. It is notable that these regulations mention the castle at ‘Atlit more frequently than the Templars’ castles of Saphet, Safita/Chastel Blanc, or Gaston/Baghras.⁶⁰ This suggests that it was their most significant stand-alone fortress, as against the towns where they had houses, such as Acre, Antioch, and Tortosa.

The regulations give examples of infractions and the way they were punished or resolved. Many of these are described as having occurred at ‘Atlit. The section on the holding of ordinary chapter meetings, giving an example of a mistaken accusation against a brother in chapter, uses ‘Atlit (*Chastiau Pelerin*) as the place

where the hypothetical fault was allegedly committed (the brother successfully claims that he was at Beirut).⁶¹ 'Atlit is also given as the house from which a German brother left the order and returned all his equipment except a copy of the *retrais* (statutes included in the order's regulations), and later came to plead for mercy at the door. The master made enquiries and some brothers said that he had not returned everything as he should have, so he was expelled from the house.⁶²

The section giving further details on penances gives a number of apparently actual examples to illustrate how the regulations have been implemented in the past, and here 'Atlit is mentioned several times. For example, Grand Master Brother Peter of Montaigu put some brothers at 'Atlit on penance, which would involve their eating on the floor. He then went to Acre. When he had gone, the brothers at 'Atlit "raised them from the ground:" that is, let them off eating on the floor. When the master found out about this, he returned, held a chapter meeting, and accused the brothers who had agreed to raise the brothers from the ground. They were judged to have committed a great fault (*grand faille*) because they did not have the authority to raise brothers from the ground after the master had put them there.⁶³

The Catalan version of the regulations, which post-dates the surviving French regulations, inserted at this point another instance, in the time of Brother Thomas Bérard (Grand Master 1256–1273), when brothers were put on penance at Saphet one Sunday. On the Monday, brothers came from *Chastel Peleryn* and on the following day asked the commander of the knights to ask the brothers to remove the penance for love of God. The commander asked the brothers to do this, and they raised them up as requested. When the grand master learned about this, he made all those who agreed to the raising up plead for mercy, and they were judged to have committed a fault.⁶⁴ 'Atlit was also the site of an incident when the commander of the knights went out to engage a force of Turks and ended up losing all his force but two, and all the equipment.⁶⁵

These examples might suggest that the brothers at 'Atlit regarded themselves as having some sort of special status. Yet the regulations do not give the brothers of 'Atlit precedence over the others in any way. For example, "if the commander of knights of the convent and the commander of *Chastiau Pelerin* and of Saphet or of other houses find themselves together, each one leading brothers, and the convent is not there, the one who has more brothers is commander over all the others" – that is, the commander of 'Atlit was not superior over the rest.⁶⁶ Again, there is no reference in the regulations to the General Chapter ever being held at 'Atlit – unlike Caesarea.⁶⁷

The regulations reveal that 'Atlit was the location of the Templars' prison for brothers guilty of serious crimes, although we can only speculate where the prison was within the complex. For example, three Templar brothers who killed Christian merchants were publically flogged through Antioch, Tripoli, Tyre, and Acre and then imprisoned for life at 'Atlit and died there.⁶⁸ When a brother struck another and knocked him to the ground, the perpetrator was put in irons and sent to 'Atlit.⁶⁹ When Brother George the mason left Acre and went to the Saracens, and was followed and brought back and found to be wearing secular clothes under his own, he was sent to 'Atlit, put in prison and died.⁷⁰

‘Atlit was also mentioned in one of the most notorious incidents referenced during the proceedings against the Templars (1307–1312). This was a case of sodomy, involving three brothers. The three were sent to Acre for trial, stripped of their habits and put in irons. Two of the three were imprisoned at *Chastiau Pelerin* – the other, Brother Lucas, escaped at night and went to the Saracens. One of the two tried to escape and died (the Catalan version of the regulations names him as Brother Gi de la Permenteria), while the other (named by the Catalan regulations as Vicent) was in prison for a long time, but “after a long time the Master sent for him to come to Acre and he escaped.”⁷¹

Witnesses during the proceedings of 1307–1312 also mentioned ‘Atlit as a place where new members were admitted to the order. In England, Brother Robert the Scot reported that he had been received into the order at *castrum peregrinum* by Grand Master William of Beaujeu in around 1283; he subsequently left the order. By the time he sought readmission, the Holy Land had been lost, and he was readmitted at Nicosia on Cyprus, by the mandate of Grand Master James of Molay (1292–1314).⁷² In France, a Brother Bartholomew, who had joined the order in Paris around 41 years earlier, said he had been in ‘Atlit for four months but had not seen any brothers admitted while he was overseas.⁷³

In spring 1311, during the testimonies given before the papal commissioners in France, Antonio Sicci of Vercelli, an Italian notary who had worked for the Templars in the East, said that he had heard from the Templars that the order was founded by two Burgundian nobles who guarded the pass which is now called *Castrum Peregrinum*, which was then called *Iter Peregrinorum*, so that those travelling to Jerusalem would not be robbed or killed. After they had guarded it for nine years, although they had gained only nine companions, in recognition of their good works the pope had confirmed them as a religious order.⁷⁴ If this account is true – and of course, the use of duress on witnesses meant that the testimonies were not reliable – it gave the location of ‘Atlit a uniquely central role in the order’s history.⁷⁵

Brother John Senaud, a sergeant brother interrogated in the Auvergne, said that on the other side of the sea the Brothers of Mount Carmel received a tithe of the victuals that the brothers of the Temple expended in *Castro peleri*, on account of which they thought of those brothers as *familiares et domesticos* (friends and members of their household).⁷⁶ If this testimony is reliable, it suggests good relations and mutual respect between the Templars of ‘Atlit and their religious neighbours.

Most references to ‘Atlit during the trial of the Templars were positive. The notorious scandals that witnesses mentioned were the surrender of Saphet to Baybars in 1266 and the resultant execution of the Templar garrison,⁷⁷ and the surrender of Tortosa in 1302 by Brother Hugh of Ampurias.⁷⁸ Just a few witnesses depicted ‘Atlit as the place of Templar misdeeds. During proceedings in France, one Stephen of Néry, a Franciscan friar, who claimed to have been at Lyon on the day that the Templars were arrested, implied that the alleged blasphemous statutes of the order had been made at *Castrum peregrini* (the Pilgrim’s Castle).⁷⁹ Brother Henry Danet, commander of Ireland, stated that he had heard that a commander of *Castrum pelerinum* had received many Templars with the alleged denial of Christ,

and that he adored an idol.⁸⁰ I have discussed elsewhere reasons for doubting Brother Henry Danet's testimony.⁸¹

One witness's testimony relating to 'Atlit was clearly inconsistent, although it does support other witnesses' depiction of 'Atlit as a place where new members were admitted to the order. During the proceedings at Clermont in the Auvergne, in June 1309, the sergeant-brother Peter Maurini stated that he had been received around 26 years earlier by Brother Thibaut Gaudin, later Grand Master (1291–1292) but at this time commander of the land overseas, in *Castro peleri*, in the presence of two brothers and others who were now dead. After making the vows, he was told to deny Christ and spit on the cross. He had also been given a cord to wear over his shirt, and he heard tell from certain brothers whose names he did not remember that it had touched “a certain head which the Templars had overseas,” but he had never seen this head, did not know where it was and had never adored it. He had worn the cord for only six days.⁸²

However, two years later, in May 1311 before the papal commissioners, Brother Peter amended this testimony, stating that he had been received “in a certain chamber” (why not in the chapel?) at *Castrum peregrini* by Brother Thibaut Gaudin, who was then commander of the place, around 25 years before (by 1311 this should have been 28 years), in the presence of five other brothers (rather than two, as previously: and these five differed from those named in his first testimony). He had then been *portenarius* (doorkeeper) of 'Atlit. He described the admission ceremony as following the regulations until, after he had made the vows, the mantle had been placed on his shoulders and the admitting brother had given him the kiss of peace; then he was ordered to deny Christ and spit on the cross.⁸³ He was given a cord during the ceremony to wear over his shirt. Two or three years later, he said, in the said *Castro peregrini* he heard it said by the knight-brother Peter de Vienne that in the treasury of the Temple there was a certain head which the cord had touched. Under cross-examination, he said that Brother Peter had told him it was the head of Saint Peter or of Saint Blasius. Brother Peter added that he had seen alms and hospitality carried out as they should be in the houses of the order in which he had stayed.⁸⁴

The reference to saints' heads in the Templars' treasury brings us to 'Atlit's other reason for fame. Brother John de Montréal, defending the order, referred to the order's relic of Saint Euphemia at 'Atlit:

Again, propounding re the body of St Euphemia that came to *Castel Pelegri* through the grace of God, in which place it has done several miracles, [or rather] God [has done several miracles] for it, that it would not have been so lodged among the Templars if they were such as men say, or any of the other relics which are and are accustomed to be in the power of the Temple.⁸⁵

As Denys Pringle has described, 'Atlit included

the centrally-planned chapel in which the relics of St Euphemia were displayed to pilgrims. The castle's suburb also contains another church, albeit

never finished; and outside the walls of the suburb lies a walled cemetery containing over 4,000 tombs, a number too high to be accounted for by deaths among the inhabitants of the castle and suburb alone and probably therefore including pilgrims and others who either died while travelling along the coastal road or whose bodies were brought here from elsewhere, possibly Acre.⁸⁶

In 1219, even before the Fifth Crusade set out for Egypt, Oliver of Paderborn mentioned the death of Master Thomas, a learned theologian, at 'Atlit; as if it were already an honourable and holy place to die.⁸⁷ In short, it appears that 'Atlit was a major centre for pilgrims and other travellers, and a necropolis.

Pilgrim texts from the thirteenth century suggest the gradual development of 'Atlit as a pilgrim centre. "The Holy Pilgrimages," written between 1229 and 1239, merely mentions 'Atlit on the way between Mount Carmel and Caesarea, indicating that there is nothing at the castle itself to detain the pilgrim.⁸⁸ Matthew Paris's itinerary again only briefly mentions 'Atlit, between Haifa and Caesarea.⁸⁹ However, the later text of the "Pilgrimages and Pardons of Acre" (written between 1258 and 1263) states that "there is the stone on which God rested, before *Chastiel Pelryn*, and inside the castle lies the body of St Euphemia."⁹⁰ "The Ways and Pilgrimages of the Holy Land" (1261–65) also mentions 'Atlit as the home of this significant holy relic:

from Hayfa to 'Atlit is three leagues. This castle stands on the sea and belonged to the house of the Temple; and there lies my lady St Euphemia, virgin and martyr.⁹¹

A pilgrim text apparently written by Philip of Savona between 1268 and 1289 also mentions the relics of Saint Euphemia here, but there are two different manuscript traditions.⁹² According to one:

Outside ['Atlit] is a stone where the Virgin Mary rested and inside the castle is the body of blessed Euphemia, virgin and Martyr.

According to the other, the castle:

is sited on the seashore and is a very fine castle of the Temple, in which the body of blessed Euphemia, virgin and martyr, is held in great veneration, having been miraculously translated there from Chalcedon, a city of Greece.⁹³

Yet, not every traveller mentioned the relics at 'Atlit; some concentrated on its military strength. Burchard of Mount Sion OP's "Description of the Holy Land" (1274–1285) mentioned 'Atlit a few times.⁹⁴ He explained that

three leagues south of Hayfa is *Castrum peregrinorum*, belonging to the Templars, the best defended of all the places ever held by the Christians. It is

sited in the midst of the sea and is defended with walls, outworks, barbicans and towers so strong that the entire world ought not to be able to storm it.⁹⁵

He also mentioned that:

Four leagues east of Arsuf is Michmethath, now called Qāqūn; it is sited in the plain below Mount Ephraim, not far from Mount Sharon. In it the Saracens have placed a garrison of soldiers opposing Pilgrims' Castle.⁹⁶

Yet he did not describe the relics at this castle. Again, Riccoldo of Monte Cruce recorded that he visited 'Atlit, "which is a renowned castle of the Templars beside the sea," but did not mention any of its relics.⁹⁷

As contemporaries mentioned only Saint Euphemia's relics as being in the castle, clearly these were the relics that the Templars promoted most vigorously. Yet the ground plan of the chapel suggests that there would have been numerous relics, each with their own altar. It was Saint Euphemia whom visitors remembered, but what were the other relics?

Various accounts survive of relics held on Rhodes in the later Middle Ages, some of which had belonged to the Templars and could have been at 'Atlit; but of course, 'Atlit was not the Templars' only castle in the East. Ibn al-Furat reported that the Templars had a large statue of Saint George in the tower of Saphet (he described it as an idol), which Sultan Baybars ordered to be destroyed after he captured the castle in 1266.⁹⁸ We do not know whether they had similar statues in their other castles; this is the only one recorded. Brother Peter Maurini mentioned that the order possessed the heads of Saint Peter and of Saint Blaise – if his inconsistent account can be believed – but said that they were in the Templars' treasury. There certainly was a treasury at 'Atlit, because merchants used it as a safe deposit. However, the *Excidium Aconis*, written shortly after the fall of Acre to the Mamluk sultan in May 1291, implied that the Templars' fortified house at Acre held their central treasury and their major store of relics: Brother Thibaut Gaudin, having failed to agree peace terms with the sultan, "with the Brothers' help carried safely to the sea what he could from the treasuries, with the sacrosanct relics from the church of the Temple"⁹⁹ – implying that this was the major centre for the Templars' religious relics, not 'Atlit. In any case, surely contemporaries would have mentioned relics of Saint Peter and Saint Blaise at 'Atlit, had they been there?

In conclusion, 'Atlit, the castle of the pilgrims or of God's Son, was promoted by the Templars to their western patrons as their primary fortress in the Holy Land. It was not only impregnable in a military sense; it held or was the focus of precious holy relics; it was also the focus of their famous discipline, in that it held their prison. It is not surprising that it was mentioned during the proceedings against the Templars: as one of the Templars' most famous fortresses, it would naturally spring to mind when witnesses were mentally assembling their evidence. What is more surprising is that it was not mentioned more often during the proceedings of 1307–1312. Recorded witness statements tended to focus on the shameful surrenders at Saphet and at Tortosa rather than the successful defences

of ‘Atlit, presumably because the inquisitors were more interested in highlighting the Templars’ errors than in remembering their successes.

‘Atlit was an independent lordship which, alongside Acre, was the focus of repeated Muslim attack from the time of its construction until its evacuation in 1291. It comprised not only the castle but also a *faubourg* (town or suburb) with a church and a large cemetery which may have served as the last resting place of travellers and pilgrims as well as of the Templars’ tenants in the *faubourg*. The Templars offered hospitality in the castle to their most noble patrons, but presumably, ordinary pilgrims were expected to lodge in the *faubourg* and would not have entered the castle except to view the relics in the chapel.

‘Atlit never fell to siege. After the loss of Acre in May 1291, the so-called “Templar of Tyre” commented: “Now, know that those of Castle Pilgrim, when they saw that all was lost, so they saw well that they did not have the power to defend the castle, so they abandoned it [and went] to the island of Cyprus, and the Saracens afterwards had it razed to the ground.”¹⁰⁰ The contemporary Abu’l-Fidā (sultan of Ḥamāh 672–732/ 1273–1331), simply wrote:

‘Athlith surrendered at the beginning of Sha’bān [30 July]. . . . All that was in the year 690, and the sultan enjoyed a felicity that had fallen to no other – the conquest of these great and well-fortified settlements without fighting or trouble. He commanded and they were utterly destroyed. By these conquests, all the coastlands were brought back to Islam – an event too great to be hoped or wished.¹⁰¹

By the time that Ludolph of Sudheim visited the former kingdom of Jerusalem in the late 1330s, the castle was passing into legend. He described it as:

Once a fair city, but now deserted, called Pilgrim Castle, which of old was called Assur [*sic*]. This city was given to the Templars by Godfrey duke of Bouillon, the first Christian king of Jerusalem, as a memorial of himself.¹⁰²

So, less than half a century after the destruction of the Templars, the castle which Oliver of Paderborn had promoted as their primary fortress, focus of their military strength and of their spirituality, had already been relocated in Latin Christian myth to the greater legend of Godfrey of Bouillon, pilgrim to Jerusalem, idealised crusader, and one of the Nine Worthies.¹⁰³

Notes

- 1 Latin European contemporaries used different names for the castle, including (in Latin) *Castrum filii Dei* (the castle of God’s Son) (see, for example, Oliver Scholasticus, “Historia Damiatina,” in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späterem bischofs von Paderborn und cardinal-bischofs von S. Sabina*, Oliverus, ed. Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894), 172); *Castrum peregrinorum* (the castle of the Pilgrims) (for example, Idem, 169); *Castrum peregrinum* (Pilgrim Castle) (for example,

- Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170)–1240, évêque de Saint-Jean-d'Acre, édition critique*, letter VII, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), 138; Jacques de Vitry, *Cinquième Croisade*; and (in French) *Chastiau Pelerin* (Castle Pilgrim) (for example, *Il Corpus normativo templare: Edizione dei testi romanzi con traduzione e commento in Italiano*, VII.104, VIII.4, 6, 13, 25, 42, 66, 103, 108, ed. Giovanni Amatuuccio (Galatina, 2009), 206, 288, 290, 296, 306, 324, 336, 356, 34–35, 364). Here I will refer to the castle as 'Atlit.
- 2 *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314). La caduta degli Stati Crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare*, ed. Laura Minervini (Naples, 2000), section 276.1 (512), p. 228; translated by Paul Crawford as *The "Templar of Tyre," Part III of the "Deeds of the Cypriots"* (Aldershot, 2003), 119.
 - 3 Scholarly studies of the castle and its *faubourg* include: Adrian Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlement and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c.1120–1291)* (London, 2006), 32–38 (*faubourg*), 103, 105, 108–9, 134–36, 150, 154, 155, 156, 159, 160, 170–73, 178, 181, 186–88, 213, 237; C.N. Johns, "Guide to 'Atlit: The Crusader Castle, Town and Surroundings," in Johns, ed. Pringle, 1997, articles I–VI; Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), 124–27; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, vol. 1: *A–K (excluding Acre and Jerusalem)* (Cambridge, 1993), 68–75; Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Gazetteer* (Cambridge, 1997), 22–23. For a detailed study of the castle's role within the Templars' operations, see Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIIIe siècle*, 3 vols. (Nicosia, 2005), *passim*. It is also referenced in, for example, Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291* (Cambridge, 1992), *passim*; Kristian Molin, *Unknown Crusader Castles* (London: 2001), *passim*; Steven Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099–1291* (Oxford, 1989), 147–49.
 - 4 Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 159–280, at 169–72.
 - 5 Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple*, 1:259, citing Robert B.C. Huygens, "Un nouveaux texte du Traité 'De constructione castris Saphet'," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series 6/1 (1965): 355–87, at 359.
 - 6 *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, letter III, 100; Jacques de Vitry, *Cinquième Croisade*, 82–84.
 - 7 "Ubi tot et tanta effuderunt divitias, quod mirum est unde eas accipiant: plus enim castrum illud iam Sarracenos gravavit quam totus fecerat christianorum exercitus." *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, letter III, 99–100; Jacques de Vitry, *Cinquième Croisade*, 82.
 - 8 For the coin hoard, see: Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 170; brief discussion in D.M. Metcalf, Robert Kool, and Ariel Berman, "Coins from the Excavations of 'Atlit (Pilgrims' Castle and its *Faubourg*)," *Atiqot* 37 (1999): 89–164, at 111–12.
 - 9 "Templarii vero cum domino Galthero de Avennis et paucis auxiliatoribus peregrinis et Hospitali de domo Teutonicorum Castrum peregrinorum, quod olim Districtum appellabatur, firmare ceperunt." Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 169.
 - 10 "Templarii vero cum paucis auxiliatoribus peregrinis et hospitali de domo Theutonicorum . . . edificare ceperunt": Oliver Scholasticus, "Briefe," no. 3, in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*, ed. Hermann Hoogeweg, 290.
 - 11 "Castrum filii Dei, quod olim Districtum, nunc Castrum peregrinorum a quibusdam appellatur." Oliver Scholasticus, "Briefe," 290.
 - 12 Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 171.
 - 13 Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 171.
 - 14 Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 171.
 - 15 Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 171–72. On the impact of 'Atlit castle, see for example, Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 124; Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, 237.
 - 16 Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 171.

- 17 Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, 38.
- 18 "Indicta fuit collectio navigatium apud Castrum filii Dei, quod Peregrinorum dicitur:" Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 176.
- 19 "Soldanus cum multitudine Sarracenorum hoc castrum aggrediens, ut inicia munitio-
num destrueret vel occuparet, virtute Altissimi repulsus recessit:" Oliver Scholasti-
cus, "Briefe," 291.
- 20 Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 244–45 and note 1 on 245.
- 21 For what follows, see: Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 254–56.
- 22 Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 254–55.
- 23 Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cam-
bridge, 1994), 93–94.
- 24 Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 255.
- 25 "Multum a castrensibus dampnificatus tam in hominibus quam in equis:" Oliver
Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 255.
- 26 Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 255–56, quotation 256.
- 27 "Arcuariorum vero et in machinis trahentium peremptorum a balistariis nostris, qui
fuerunt trecenti, nulla computatio fuit." . . . "Uno etiam die interfecti sunt equi centum
viginti magni precii, inter quos erat unus quatuordecim milibus dracmarum emptus,
quem Seraphus soldanu Alapie cuidam amiraldo pro munere misit; aliorum equorum
insuper et camelorum plurima dampna sustinuerunt Sarraceni:" Oliver Scholasticus,
"Historia Damiatina," 256.
- 28 "Soldanus autem Egypti modis omnibus procurabat qualiter nostros posset molestare
et exercitum nostrum in plures partes divisum debiliorem reddere; unde mandavit
fratri suo Coradino, soldano Damasci, quatinus circa partes Acconenses munitionem
novam, que Castrum Peregrinum dicitur, obsideret. Ex quo factum est quod multi de
exercitu nostro ad castrum subsidium festinantes abierunt et quod Acconenses ad exer-
citu nostrum non venirent ante Damiatam:" *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, letter VII,
138; Jacques de Vitry, *Cinquième Croisade*, 170.
- 29 "Persertim cum inter se Sarraceni pugnam et dissensiones haberent et rex Damasci
Coradinus, qui Castrum Peregrinum obsederat, cum magna confusione, multis ex suis
interemptis, recessisset:" *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, letter VII, 140–41; Jacques de
Vitry, *Cinquième Croisade*, 176.
- 30 Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina," 207.
- 31 Helen J. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military
Orders, 1128–1291* (Leicester, 1993), 106; "Annales Colonienses maximi," ed.
Karl Pertz, *MGH SS*, 17:723–847, at 832; "Gesta crucigerorum Rhenanorum," in
Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores, ed. Reinhold Röhricht (Geneva, 1879), 36; Roger
of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur Flores historiarum ab anno domini MCLIV annoque
Henrici Anglorum regis secundi primo: The Flowers of History by Roger of Wendover*,
ed. Henry G. Hewlett, 3 vols. RS 84 (London, 1886–89), 2:206–7; "Annales S. Rut-
berti Salisburgensis," ed. D. Wilhelm Wattenbach, *MGH SS*, 9:780; "Cronica S. Petri
Erfordensis moderna," ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS*, 30/1:386; Matthew Paris (fol-
lowing Roger of Wendover), in *Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica
Majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols. RS 57 (London, 1872–83), 3:14.
- 32 *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, no. 498, ed. Peter Pressutti, 3 vols. (Rome: 1888–89),
2:88; Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple*, 2:124 and 3:465 (no. 522); Pierre-Vincent Clave-
rie, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216–1227)* (Leiden, 2013), 382–83, no. 69.
- 33 Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur Flores historiarum*, 2:260–62, at 261; translated
as: "Of the Condition of the Holy Land after the Capture of Damietta," in *Crusade
and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall
of Acre, 1187–1291*, eds. and trans. Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M.
Powell (Philadelphia, 2013), 226–28, at 228.
- 34 *Annales de Terre Sainte 1095–1291*, eds. Reinhold Röhricht and Gaston Raynaud
(Paris, 1884), [437], 13; Peter W. Edbury, ed., "A New Text of the *Annales de Terre*

- Sainte," in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, eds. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Crusades Subsidia* 1 (Aldershot, 2007), 145–61, at 152; Peter W. Edbury, "Making Sense of the *Annales de Terre Sainte*: Thirteenth-century Vernacular Narratives from the Latin East," in *Crusader Landscapes in the Medieval Levant: The Archaeology and History of the Latin East*, eds. Micaela Sinibaldi, Kevin J. Lewis, Balázs Major, and Jennifer A. Thompson (Cardiff, 2016), 403–13.
- 35 "Et cestui nom li mist Gautier d'Avenes, qui dist que il seroit son parrein, et mist sur la premiere pierre mil besans Sarasinas a oez dou labor." "L'estoire Eracles empereur et la conquete de la terre d'Outremer," Book 31, chapter 13, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844–95), 2:325–26. For the date of compilation see Peter Edbury, "Ernoul, *Eracles*, and the Beginnings of Frankish Rule in Cyprus, 1191–1232," in *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of Cultural Encounter*, eds. Sabine Rogge and Michael Grünbart (Münster, 2015), 29–51, at 34–35.
- 36 *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), 422.
- 37 *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, 422–23.
- 38 "Il i a .i. castiel del Temple qui a à non Castiaus Pelerins: si entra ens. Quant il fu dedens, si trouva le castel bien garni et moult fort. Il dist qu'il voloit avoit le castel, et qu'il le vuidaissent, et manda ses homes por garner. Le Templier coururent as portes et les fermerent, et disent que s'il ne s'en aloit, il le meteroient en tel liu dont il n'isteroit jamais. Li emperere vit qu'il n'avoit mie le force là dedens et qu'il n'estoit mie bien amés ou pais, si vuida le castel et ala à Acre, et fist armer ses gens, et ala à le maison del Temple. Si le vaut prendre et abatre, et li Templier le desfendirent bien . . . ; tant comme consaus aporta l'empereur qu'il ne faisoit mie bien, si se traist ariere. Si se parti d'Acre, et ala à Jaffe, là où on fremoit le castiel, et manda al soudan qu'il fesist les convenences por coi il avoit le mer passé." *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, 462–63.
- 39 Edbury, "Ernoul, *Eracles*," 31.
- 40 Edbury, "Ernoul, *Eracles*," 31–32.
- 41 Filippo da Novara, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223–1242)*, ed. Silvio Melani (Naples, 1994), 102, 276–77.
- 42 *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, section 26 (262), p. 60.
- 43 Claverie, *L'Ordre du Temple*, 2:422–23.
- 44 Jean Sire de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1874), 282.
- 45 "Testo della Regola primitiva latina," section 71, in *Il Corpus normativo templare*, ed. Amatuccio, 404–17, at 417.
- 46 Joinville, *Histoire*, pp. 289–90.
- 47 *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, previously edited as the Chronicle of Walter of Hemingford or Hemingburgh*, ed. Harry Rothwell, Camden Society, 3rd series 89 (London, 1957), 208.
- 48 *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders: Selections from the Tārīkh al-duwal wa'l-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt*, section 82, ed. and trans. U. and M.C. Lyons, historical introduction and notes by Jonathan S.C. Riley-Smith, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1971), 2:67.
- 49 *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, section 89, 2:72.
- 50 *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, section 110, 2:87, 206.
- 51 *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, section 48 (284), p. 70.
- 52 *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, section 69 (305), p. 84; for location in northern Galilee, see Jochen Burgdorf in *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)*, History of Warfare 50 (Leiden, 2008), 659.
- 53 *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, section 218 (454), p. 182.
- 54 Claverie, *L'Ordre du Temple*, 3:597, no. 683; *Acta Aragonensia*, no. 41, ed. Heinrich Finke, 3 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1908–22), 1:55–56.
- 55 Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 6:196.

- 56 *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, section 163, 2:130, 232; Peter M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995), 16–17, 70.
- 57 Peter M. Holt, “Qalawun’s Treaty with Acre in 1283,” *English Historical Review* 91 (1976): 802–12, at 807, 808. See also Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 73–91, at 81, 84, 87, 88, 89, 91.
- 58 Mayer, *Urkunden*, no. 826 (3 June 1283), 3:1439–40.
- 59 Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships*, 147.
- 60 See the index to J.M. Upton-Ward’s translation, *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of Knights Templar* (Woodbridge, 1992), 194, 196, 199.
- 61 *Il Corpus normativo templare*, VII.104, ed. Amatuuccio, 206; translation in Upton-Ward, *Rule*, section 408, p. 110.
- 62 *Il Corpus normativo templare*, VIII.13, ed. Amatuuccio, 296; translation in Upton-Ward, *Rule*, section 561, p. 146; *The Catalan Rule of the Templars*, section 156, ed. and trans. Judi Upton-Ward (Woodbridge, 2003), 64–66, specifies he was German.
- 63 *Il Corpus normativo templare*, VIII.4, ed. Amatuuccio, 288; Upton-Ward, *Rule*, section 552, p. 144.
- 64 *Il Corpus normativo templare*, VIII.4, ed. Amatuuccio, 288; *Catalan Rule*, section 128, pp. 52–54.
- 65 *Il Corpus normativo templare*, VIII.108, ed. Amatuuccio, 364; Upton-Ward, *Rule*, section 640, p. 164.
- 66 *Il Corpus normativo templare*, VIII.103, ed. Amatuuccio, 356; Upton-Ward, *Rule*, section 635, pp. 162–63.
- 67 *Catalan Rule*, section 184, pp. 88–89.
- 68 *Il Corpus normativo templare*, VIII.6, ed. Amatuuccio, 290; Upton-Ward, *Rule*, section 554, p. 144).
- 69 *Il Corpus normativo templare*, VIII.42, ed. Amatuuccio, 324; Upton-Ward, *Rule*, section 593, p. 154.
- 70 *Il Corpus normativo templare*, VIII.66; ed. Amatuuccio, 336; Upton-Ward, *Rule*, section 603, p. 156.
- 71 *Il Corpus normativo templare*, VIII.25, ed. Amatuuccio, 306; Upton-Ward, *Rule*, section 573, p. 148; *Catalan Rule*, section 164, pp. 70–71. This was referred to during the proceedings against the Order as the only known case of sodomy: *Procès des Templiers*, ed. Jules Michelet, 2 vols. (Paris, 1841–51), 1:196, 386–87, 2:223.
- 72 *The Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, MS A fol. 46v, ed. Helen J. Nicholson, 2 vols. (Farnham, 2011), 1:88, 2:80.
- 73 *Procès*, ed. Michelet, 2:193.
- 74 *Procès*, ed. Michelet, 1:643; see also Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2006), 209–10.
- 75 For discussion of the testimonies’ reliability, see *Proceedings against the Templars*, ed. Nicholson, 2:xl–xlviii.
- 76 *Le Procès des Templiers d’Auvergne, 1309–1311: Edition de l’interrogatoire de juin 1309*, eds. Roger Sève and Anne-Marie Chagny-Sève (Paris, 1986), 119: “addens quod ultra mare fratres de Carmelo recipiebant decimam partem victualium que fratres dicti Templi expendebant in Castro Peleri, propter quod ipsos fratres familiares et domesticos reputabant.”
- 77 *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens mit urkundlichen und kritischen Beiträgen*, ed. Konrad Schottmuller, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1887), 2:162, 387–88; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus: A Complete English Edition*, ed. and trans. Anne Gilmour-Bryson, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 17 (Leiden, 1998), 71, 422–23; *Procès*, ed. Michelet, 1:170–71; see Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 162, 254.
- 78 *Proceedings against the Templars*, MS A, fols. 91v, 139v, ed. Nicholson, 2:188–89 and note 17, 337–38; *Untergang*, ed. Schottmuller, 2:160–61; *Trial of the Templars in*

- Cyprus, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, 67–68; *Procès*, ed. Michelet, 1:39; Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 147.
- 79 *Procès*, ed. Michelet, 1:458; for discussion see Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 65.
- 80 *Proceedings Against the Templars*, MS A: fols. 91r–v, 139v–140r, MS C: fol. 1v, ed. Nicholson, 1:182, 302, 380, 2:189, 337–38, 434.
- 81 Helen J. Nicholson, “The Testimony of Brother Henry Danet and the Trial of the Templars in Ireland,” in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani*, eds. Ellenblum Shagrir and Riley-Smith, 411–23.
- 82 *Le Procès des Templiers d’Auvergne*, 29.1, 29.10, 29.13, eds. Sève and Chagny-Sève, 192, 194. The other brothers present were *Guillelmus* and *Johannes Jaumundi*.
- 83 *Procès*, ed. Michelet, 2:239: the brothers present were the knights Peter Meravillas (French), Naysement de Lenda (Catalan), Guillelmo de Novas (of Provence), Adam de Valencourt de Belna, and Jacobus de Garda Guarini, sergeant-brother, now dead.
- 84 *Procès*, ed. Michelet, 2:240.
- 85 “Item, proponent deu cors de sancta Eufemia que venit à Castel Pelegri por grace de De, en quel luc il a faicz plusors miracles, deu por li, que ile ne i so fure mie herbergée entre li Templiers, se il fussent cil que om dist, ne aucunas auteras reliquies qui sont et solunt ester en poder deu Temple,” *Procès*, ed. Michelet, 1:143–45; see Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 158.
- 86 Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (Farnham, 2012), 17–18.
- 87 “Magister Thomas theologus et doctor bonus et opinionis clare apud Castrum Filii Dei [i.e., ‘Atlit] diem clausit extremum.” Oliver of Paderborn, “Historia Damiatina,” 172, lines 5–6.
- 88 Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 168.
- 89 Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 206, 16.
- 90 Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 229.
- 91 Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 211.
- 92 Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 51–54, at 54.
- 93 Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 352–53.
- 94 Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 244, 245, 247.
- 95 Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 307.
- 96 Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 308.
- 97 Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 365.
- 98 Ibn al-Furat, section 132, p. 105 (A.H. 665): “At this time [after the capture of Saphet] the Sultan went up to the citadel to pray in the tower in which he used to sit. There he saw a large idol of which the Franks used to say that the citadel was under its protection – they had called it Abū Jurj. He ordered that it should be torn out and smashed, and the place was purified of it, its site being turned into a *mihirāb*.”
- 99 “Excidium Aconis” (II) in *The Fall of Acre 1291: Excidii Aconis Gestorum Collectio; Magister Thadeus civis Neapolitanus Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Acconensis et totius terre sancte*, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, with contributions by A. Forey and D.C. Nicolle, CCCM 202 (Turnhout, 2004), 91–93, at 92, lines 733–35: “fratrum adiutorio de thesauris quod potuit cum sacrosanctis reliquis ecclesie Templi ad mare salubriter deportavit.”
- 100 “Or sachés que siaus de Chasteau Pelerin, quant il virent que tout fu perdu, si virent bien que il nen aveent poier de defender le chastiau, si l’abadonerent [et alerent] en l’ihle de Chipre, et sarazins depuis le firent abatre tout a terre.” *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, section 276.1 (512), p. 228.
- 101 *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince: Abu’l-Fidā, sultan of Hamāh (672–732/ 1273–1331)*, trans. with an introduction by M. Holt (Wiesbaden, 1983), 17.
- 102 “Civitatem quondam pulchram, sed nunc desertam, Castrum peregrine vocatam, sed olim Assur dictam. Hanc civitatem Godefridus dux de Boliun, primus rex Ierusalem, Christianus, Templariis in sui memoriam donavit.” Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae

parochialis in Suchem, *De itinere Terrae sanctae liber: nach alten Handschriften berichtet*, ed. Ferdinand Deycks, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 25 (Stuttgart, 1851), 50; translation in *Ludolph von Suchem's Description of the Holy Land and of the Way Thither; written in the year A.D. 1350*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (London, 1895), 65.

- 103 Simon John, *Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lotharingia, Ruler of Latin Jerusalem, c.1060–1100*, Rulers of the Latin East (London, 2018), 244–46.

6 'Atlit Castle surveys

Charters versus the archaeological evidence

Vardit R. Shotten-Hallel

In his review article in 1985, Denys Pringle noted that:

As Professor Huygens remarks in his introduction (p. 7), detailed Latin sources relating to the building of castles in the Frankish East are rare. There are, for example, no extant building accounts from Crusader Syria or Palestine. The value to historians and archaeologists of an anonymous treatise which describes the Templars' rebuilding of the castle of Safed from 1240 onwards is therefore considerable [*De constructione castri Saphet*].¹ But it is also somewhat tantalizing, since so little now remains of the castle itself that the possibility of achieving that rare event, the perfect marriage of documentary and archaeological evidence, seems almost as remote here as in those more frequent instances where the buildings survive but the documents do not.²

Recent archaeological excavations revealed parts of the castle of Safed, where some elements conform to certain details in this historical document.³ The present study, however, discusses another Templar castle – one that too is entitled to this desired marriage between a comprehensive historical source and the archaeological remains.

The construction of 'Atlit Castle, from 1218 onwards, has been reported in several contemporaneous accounts. The most detailed, albeit not the earliest testimony,⁴ is found in a number of texts composed by Oliver of Cologne (also Oliver of Paderborn, *Oliverus scholasticus*), preacher of the Fifth Crusade along with Jacques de Vitry and Robert de Courçon.⁵ These texts, known as the accounts of the Fifth Crusade, include a series of charters and were collected by Hermann Hoogeweg who filed the letters Oliver had sent from the East under the section *Briefe*, as well as a reworked piece known as the *Historia Damiatina*.⁶ There are considerable differences between the information provided in each document: the letters (hereafter *Briefe*) and the final version (hereafter *Historia*). Oliver's initial text appears to have been inspired by a personal appreciation of the crusaders' operation in *Outremer*. Accordingly, the texts were probably intended to be redrafted into fund-raising treatises.⁷ The aim of the present study is to trace these discrepancies, particularly in the parts containing the report on the construction of 'Atlit Castle, and to establish a background against which the outcome of these

changes can be reevaluated. Consequently, we need to examine a number of elements in the *Briefe*, and compare them with details from the *Historia*: authorship; geopolitical circumstances; financing of the construction operations; and, finally and most importantly, we should draw conclusions regarding who would have benefited the most from the operation? The Catholic Church or the Templars in particular?

The *Historia Damiatina* presents an example of *amplificatio* (or *ampliatio*) amplification of the original text, and applies several linguistic methods to the lengthening and embellishment of the original narrative.⁸ Not only does it provide more details, together with anchors of time and chronology (the order of construction), but it also includes anecdotes that convey an expression of faith, like the finding of ancient coins “provided by the grace of the Lord,” and the equally grace-given supply of building materials. Oliver also introduced small textual changes that improved the style of writing: such as the use of *firmare* instead of *edificare*; *situm* instead of *positum*; *amplum* instead of *magnum*; and *aquilonem* instead of *septentrionem*. Other modifications too were made to improve the flow of the text: for instance, in the note on building materials and stone sizes, *ibidem* is removed and *ante frontem castris* is placed after the verb rather than at the beginning of the sentence. This *amplificatio*, the lengthier and more detailed content and the style, emphasises the activities of the Templars. Although there are not many differences between the two Latin versions, the style of the *Historia* is more refined.⁹

To identify the particular Templar influence on the report in general, and to examine other elements in Oliver’s letters versus the information given in his reworked text of the *Historia*, it is necessary to examine the historical texts in light of the archaeological finds from ‘Atlit. The passages of the *Historia* referring to the construction of the castle will serve here as headings for this examination. In some cases, as presented here, every word discloses significant information relating to the construction of the castle. The question of whether the initiative to publish the *Historia* was drafted by the Templars themselves arises from the possibility that the order had promoted their castle, even temporarily, as a substitute for the experience of visiting Jerusalem. After the Fall of Jerusalem only limited access to the holy sites was given to pilgrims, as attested to also by the small number of pilgrims’ accounts.¹⁰ Despite the vision of Honorius III to liberate the holy places,¹¹ the crusader armies were eventually to be sent directly to Egypt, and thus deprived even of the possibility of fulfilling the ultimate goal of any crusade: to free Jerusalem. In 1217, Pope Honorius wrote to the western prelates, stressing that no crusader was to visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, because this would involve making payments to the Muslim authorities.¹² Furthermore, during the siege of Damietta, the Patriarch of Jerusalem absolved those crusaders who had suffered on their journey to the Holy Land and Egypt.¹³ The reason for a Templar presence at ‘Atlit Castle, according to Oliver, was to garrison it until the walls of Jerusalem would be rebuilt: *usque ad reparationem murorum Jerusalem*.¹⁴ Oliver thereby implies that ‘Atlit Castle was not intended to serve as a replacement for the Templar headquarters at Acre,¹⁵ but for their lost residence

in Jerusalem. If this is so, is it possible that they were advocating the publication of these treatises as part of their efforts to regain their status and reputation as guardians of the Holy Land in the eyes of both the clergy and the ordinary people of Europe? It should be borne in mind that only a decade later the Templar Master, Peter of Montaigu (Pierre de Montaigu/Petrus de Monte Acuto, 1218–1232), was one of the main opponents of the ten-year truce reached in Jaffa on 18 February 1229, in which the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls was prohibited; and, although the agreement restored Jerusalem to Christian hands, Temple Mount, the place of the Templar headquarters in the city, was excluded.¹⁶

The construction of the castle is reported in Chapters 5 and 6 of the *Historia*. Chapter 5 ends with the general location of the castle:

*Quod situm est in diocesi Cesariensi inter Cayphas et Cesaream.*¹⁷

The chapter also establishes a particular time frame by indicating the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, celebrated in the Cathedral of Caesarea (2 February 1218). During the time that 'Atlit Castle was under construction, the Order of the Templars saw the death of its Master, William of Chartres (Guillaume de Chartres, 1210–1218/9). William died on 26 August 1219 and was replaced by Peter of Montaigu.¹⁸ None of the masters are mentioned by name in the texts relating to the construction of the castle.¹⁹ Chapter 6, however, already at the very beginning, introduces the name of a secular knight who was involved in the construction of 'Atlit Castle.

Initiation and builders

*Templarii vero cum domino Galthero de Avennis et paucis auxiliatoribus peregrinis et Hospitali de domo Teutonicorum Castrum peregrinorum, quod olim Districtum apellabatur, firmare ceperunt.*²⁰

The exposition of facts as presented here, together with the amplification of the initial story, are derived from the historical and genealogical particulars. *Galthero de Avennis* (Walter of Avesnes) is not mentioned in the letter Oliver had sent to the archbishop and clergy of Cologne in late summer 1218, in which he listed only the Templars, a few pilgrims, and Teutonic knights as being involved in construction of the castle.²¹ As demonstrated, for example, by Marie-Anna Chevalier, the Templars were entrusted with numerous strongholds along the borders of the Christian Levant. Their military and financial power had made them indispensable factors in retaining these possessions, and in restoring or improving their fortifications according to the appropriate circumstances. The Templar order was among the few orders able to do so in the Latin States.²²

In the *Historia*, however, Oliver clearly stated that the Templars were strengthening the castle with the aid of *Galthero de Avennis*,²³ whose name is mentioned earlier in Chapter 1 of the *Historia*, and who had placed the sum of one thousand

Saracen bezants on the first stone.²⁴ Thousands of crusaders from the Rhineland and Frisia, the contingent of Duke Leopold IV of Austria and the army of Andrew II of Hungary, respectively, joined the King of Jerusalem, John of Brienne, in the crusade against Damietta. Walter of Avesnes was only one of them. Certainly, Oliver preached the crusade in Flanders (and Frisia) in 1214–1215, where he could have met one of the most influential persons in the region.²⁵ Indeed, Walter is the only knight mentioned by name, in the same breath as a list of papal legates, including the archbishop of Nicosia, and several bishops of Hungary, including those of Raab and Erlau, Bayeux, Bamberg, Zeitz, Munster, and Utrecht.²⁶ Inquiry into the reason for this unusual reference reveals the origins of Walter, who was born to a true crusader dynasty in the county of Flanders and was closely associated with the Order of the Temple. One notable member of his family was Gérard of Avesnes, who was left, we are told, by Godfrey as a hostage at Arsur, tied to a high mast on the town walls by the Muslim defenders of Arsur, and made to face the arrows of his fellow knights. Miraculously, he survived the attack, appeared in Jerusalem a short time afterwards and was granted the lordship of Hebron, a fiefdom worth a considerable sum of money.²⁷ The grandson of Gerard's elder brother, Nicholas was the father of another famous crusader – Jacques of Avesnes, who had died at the Battle of Arsur (1191) during the Third Crusade. Walter was the first-born son of Jacques (and Mathilde), and as such he had inherited his father's lands, while his brother Bouchard was brought up in France. Bouchard's invalid marriage to Marguerite, daughter of Baldwin IX, Count of Flanders, one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, led Marguerite's older sister, Joan, to appeal to the pope.²⁸ Bouchard however ignored the papal decision, which resulted in a series of papal penances in the following years. In 1216, Bouchard was excommunicated by Pope Innocent III. Innocent's successor, Honorius III, repeated the penance in 1218 and extended it to include those noble families that supported Bouchard.²⁹ In 1219, the pope went as far as to place under interdiction all the localities that offered asylum to Bouchard. The legitimacy of the family heirs, namely the sons of Bouchard and Marguerite, became a matter of dispute for years after, with Marguerite's two families – Avesnes and Dampierres – as successors to Hainaut and Flanders, respectively.³⁰

The complicated situation delayed Walter's departure for the Crusade, and in 1211, he was granted a postponement by the pope. He was, however, already committed to the Templars in his region, having made his first substantial donation in 1205 when he granted the order lands in Saint-Aubin, very close to his own castle and domain.³¹ A charter dated to August 1208 records a donation he had made with his wife Marguerite that resulted in a dispute between the monastery of the knights and the Abbey of Saint-Vincent. In April 1212, Walter made a donation to the religious community at Longpré,³² and he may have participated in the Battle of Bouvines in 1214.³³

Site description

*Promuntorium altum et amplum mari imminet munitum naturaliter scopulis ad aquilonem, occidentem et austrum.*³⁴



Figure 6.1 'Atlit Castle. View to north-west

Source: David Zell, IAA.

Chapter 6 of the *Historia* begins with a general description of the site, indicating a high and large promontory, with its rocks overhanging the sea. 'Atlit promontory, a remnant of the Dor sandstone ridge, is connected to the shore by a ca. 200 m wide tombolo.³⁵ The sandy shore continues along its eastern side, where the castle's outer walls prevent access from the land. The promontory projects ca. 400 m from the main coast. The castle's elongated halls surround this rocky platform from the north, west, and south, and the rock served as the foundation for many of the buildings along these ranges, particularly in the northern range where the southern wall of the north-western hall was built directly onto the rocks, which in this area are nearly 7 m above current sea level (Figure 6.1).

Area nearby: *Destroit* and pilgrimage route

*versus orientem turris est firma et dudum a Templariis edificata et possessa tam guerre quam treugarum tempore.*³⁶ *Turris antem ibidem posita fuit olim propter latrunuculos, qui in via stricta peregrinis ascendentibus in Jerusalem et descendentibus ab ea insidiabantur; haut longe distans a mari, que propter viam strictam Districtum appellabatur.*³⁷

In the description of the area around the castle and adjacent to it, Oliver refers to the natural elements of the defence system and to the nearby tower at *Destroit*,

the Templar post located north-east of the castle. In 1191, King Richard I and his army camped at *the casal narrow way[s] (Destroit)* for two days while en route from Acre to Jerusalem. The chronicler mentions this as a convenient place to wait until their supply ships could arrive.³⁸ Here, Oliver's description possibly refers to the sieges of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa in 1219, rather than reporting on the actual status of this post in 1218.³⁹ The Templars, according to Oliver later on in the text, destroyed the deserted post at *Destroit* to prevent the enemy from using it against them.⁴⁰ The place was then razed almost to bedrock by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa himself in 1220.⁴¹ When describing the routes around this post, particularly the pilgrimage route, Oliver explains that the pass is narrow and thus the tower was named *Destroit*. Pilgrims were under constant attack on their way to or from Jerusalem, and the post provided a sheltered area with a court where troughs were cut into the surrounding rock-cut walls (Figure 6.2). In the third quarter of the thirteenth century, Burchard of Mount Sion identified the place as both Pilgrims' Castle and as the southern boundary of Phoenicia.⁴²



Figure 6.2 *Destroit*, aerial photograph (2017)

Source: David Zell, IAA.

Time frame, stratigraphy, and chronological order of construction

*Toto fere tempore, quo Cesariense castrum firmatum est et consummatum,*⁴³
Templarii ex transverso promuntorii fodientes et laborantes per sex hebdomadas
tantem ad fundamentum primum pervenerunt, ubi murus antiquus, spissus et lon-
*gus apparuit.*⁴⁴

Oliver then outlines the time span for the initial works from when the Templars first dug across the promontory and through the entire period of refortification until completion of the fort in Caesarea.⁴⁵ The width of the castle walls ranges from 2 m for the inner facades of the halls, to more than 9.5 m for the external facades where the staircases and inner passages were created, as attested to, for example, by the walls of the two great towers. Initially, each building had been of different dimensions, derived from their location, pre-planned height and, particularly, the respective position of the walls. Hence, the inner faces were consistently thinner than the outer faces. Given the original topography of the promontory, the castle buildings varied in height and thus no standardised common set of dimensions could be applied to all of the walls. Additionally, the width of the walls became reduced with height: that is, the wide trenches represent only the width of the lower courses of the wall and not its width in the upper part. The chronological order of construction, detailed by Oliver, indicates that work continued for six weeks until reaching the initial foundations and revealing a long thick ancient wall. What the builders encountered is likely to have been the remains of the Phoenician harbour facilities, located on the northern bay, east of the castle walls. The harbour is a single-period construction with no remains of the later Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁴⁶ The sandstone headers of the quay running along the shore were exposed during the British survey of the site (1930–1934). They are mostly covered by sand but some parts can be seen along the north quay.

Finds and funds

*Inventa est etiam ibi pecunia in moneta modernis ignota, collate beneficio filii Dei militibus suis ad alleviandos sumptus et labores.*⁴⁷

Following the general description, the text also discloses small finds, specifying unfamiliar ancient coins. C.N. Johns excavated around 570 coins but published only a few in his reports. Although the bulk of the coins from Johns' excavations were studied and published by Metcalf, Kool, and Berman (1999), some of the coins could no longer be located at the time of their publication. Silver coins of Tyre and Sidon from the Phoenician period were excavated in the cemetery, located in the south-eastern section of the Walled Area (dated to the sixth–fourth centuries BCE).⁴⁸ Four Sidonian coins were recovered in the area of the tell, east of the castle's fosse. An Athenian tetradrachm dated to the fourth–third century

BCE was found east of the Walled Area in the saltpans. These, however, were not the main source for funding the construction of the castle. Some evidence of the Templars' ability to fund the project can be found in several charters and documents pertaining to the military orders: the Hospitallers, were occupied in fortifying Caesarea, while the Templars had pressed on with the work of building the new castle at 'Atlit on which, as mentioned, it is noted that they invested such large sums that Jacques de Vitry considered it a marvel.⁴⁹ The major funding probably came from the treasury of the Templars at Acre. Regarding the additional financial support, a few names are listed in respect to funding the initial construction and to the continuation of work, in addition to that of Walter of Avesnes who, as mentioned before, had placed the sum of 1,000 Saracen bezants on the first stone.⁵⁰ Duke Leopold of Austria donated the sum of 50 marcs of gold (in addition to other donations to the Teutons) and Earl Ranulf of Chester, during his time in Damietta, donated a sum of 50 silver marcs, destined for the fortification of walls and towers.⁵¹ In addition, to these sums, papal aid was sent early in 1219 to the Masters of the Hospital and the Temple.⁵² Both construction and funding continued when, in 1222, Pope Honorius III expressed the need to assist the Templars in the construction of 'Atlit Castle, stating that they were spending over three thousands besants a day (*que singulis diebus summam trium milium bizantium*).⁵³

Thirteenth century archaeological work

*Deinde in anteriore parte harenam fodientes et deportantes alius murus brevior inventus est, et inter murorum planiciem fontes aque dulcis largiter ebulliebant;*⁵⁴

Johns, in his description of the excavation of the south-eastern range of the Walled Area (Johns' Town), noted that the medieval builders had excavated and utilised tombs of the Phoenician settlement period for the foundation trenches of the walls. This was also the case for the eastern range of the promontory (Johns' Headland) near the area surrounding the site of the construction of the museum, where work on the location of the archaeologist's house/future 'Atlit Museum began at the end of 1931. In a letter dated 5 December 1931, to Ernest Richmond, at that time Director of the Department of Antiquities, Johns described the excavations of the church [in the Walled Area] and at the house:

At the house the latest discovery is a rubble wall along the west side, battered [?] away from it. So far we have exposed it down to 2 meters below ground level without reaching the bottom. At 2 meters Crusading stuff [!] lies almost directly on the Hellenistic with no very clear wad [?] of blown sand.⁵⁵

Indeed, Oliver mentions that later, when they were removing sand to further away from where they were digging, they came across another, shorter wall. Additionally, wells were found on the plain between the walls. In their survey of the area,

Conder and Kitchener indicated a well located at the southern end of the promontory between the outer wall and the fosse.⁵⁶ Oliver mentions a well later in the text when referring to a well of fresh water enclosed between two lines of defence, a point that proved of significance when analysing the chronology of the castle construction.⁵⁷

Building materials and quarries

*lapidum etiam et cementi copiam Dominus ministravit. Due turrets edificabantur ante frontem castris lapidibus quadris et dolatis tante quantitatis, ut lapis unus vix a duobus bubalis in curru trahatur.*⁵⁸

Following the description of the foundations comes the part describing the building materials. Oliver attributes the natural resources of the 'Atlit area to the grace of the Lord who provided quantities of stones and mortar. His description of the stones used for the construction of the two eastern towers emphasises their sizes; and, more importantly, the chronological order of construction.

The main building material for the construction of 'Atlit Castle was sandstone, other than for the chapel where limestone was used extensively. A very small number of finds attests to the use of materials other than sandstone and limestone. Only a few artefacts made of marble were found in the castle and these were mostly in the Walled Area.⁵⁹ In addition to sandstone and limestone, beachrock was used for paving. A few large flagstones, ca. 16 cm in height, were preserved on the surface of the hall situated in the north-western corner of the courtyard, now in ruins. Megadim ridge, the main source for building materials for the castle, was surveyed by Ronen and Olami in the framework of the "Archaeological Survey of Israel."⁶⁰ The area of the 'Atlit map was the first surveyed by this unit in 1964–1965. In 2018, Mordechai Heiman of the IAA excavated the quarries along the ridge. A large quarry exploited during the crusader period was exposed during this excavation. This particular quarry is located close to the southern gate in the outer wall. Near it, Heiman excavated a road leading from the quarries along the ridge towards the west and the Walled Area (Figure 6.3).

In addition to providing building materials, the quarries also had a role in the multifaceted defence plan of 'Atlit Castle. The system included both land and sea fortifications and comprised five consecutive lines of defence. The first line was the cut ridge utilised for the extraction of building materials (Wall I in Figure 6.3, Figure 6.4). The second line was a wall stretching from north to south and enclosing an area east and south of the castle, Walled Area (Wall II in Figure 6.3). The third line of defence was the castle's exterior wall with two gates (north and south, Wall III in Figure 6.4), stretching from the northern end of the peninsula to its southern end. The fourth line of defence was the castle wall with its three projecting towers (Wall IV in Figure 6.3). The fifth line comprised a wall with an upper gallery and two high towers (Wall V in Figure 6.3). The area between these

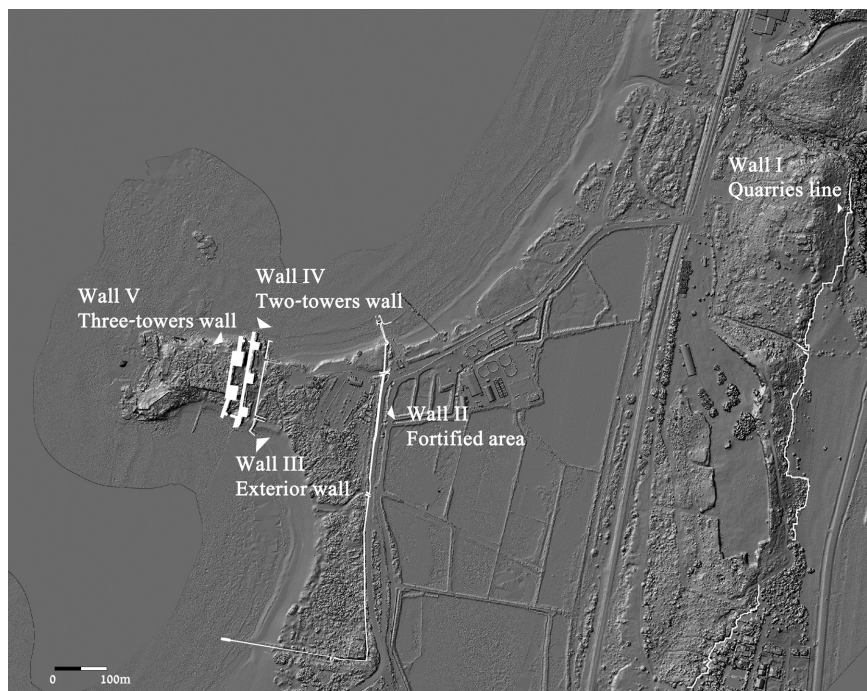


Figure 6.3 Defence system of 'Atlit Castle

Source: Drawing on Lidar image: Geological Survey of Israel, courtesy of O. Katz and A. Mushkin.

last two lines of defence was enclosed by two gates: one in the north allowing access from the land, and one in the south allowing access from the harbour and the Walled Area.⁶¹

Wall V: the walls of two towers and their architectural dimensions

*Utraque turris centenos habet pedes in longitudine, septuaginta quatuor in latitudine. Spissitudo binas includit testudines, altitudo plurimum ascendens celsitudinem promuntorii transgreditur.*⁶²

After outlining the topographical and archaeological background, Oliver moves on to the architecture. Here, he emphasises aspects of the military architecture, as also seen later in his description of the siege of Damietta.⁶³ The dimensions given in the *Historia* suggest that Oliver was well informed regarding the final result, post construction and possibly also post his time in 'Atlit. Each tower, according to Oliver, is 100 feet long and 74 feet wide and its thickness contains two



Figure 6.4 Quarry exploited for the construction of the castle

Source: Author, IAA.

vaulted halls. Of the northern tower, only the east wall still preserves its original full height. The tower was once three stories high, but the ground floor, accessed from the level of the fosse, is now filled with collapsed material and debris. There remain traces of an intermediate floor and the upper level, where Camille Enlart

has recorded three figurative corbels supporting the narrow-pointed vaults. The two vaulted halls that Oliver writes about are more likely to be the two-story passage running between the two towers.⁶⁴

*Inter duas turres murus novus et altus cum propugnaculis consummatus est et miro artificio intrinsecus equites armati ascendere possunt et descendere.*⁶⁵

Oliver refers here to the wall that runs between the two towers, forming together the fifth line of defence. As a strong tower, the eastern façade was built as a massive wall, with no windows piercing it (Figure 6.5). The wall is actually a vaulted corridor that connects the ground floor to one of three towers. The steps of a staircase built at its southern end are wide enough to allow an armed horseman to cross them from the southern hall to the northern tower, and are indeed designed for such movement as they are wide and shallow (rise: c.15 cm, tread depth: c.60 cm). The staircase is located near the southern tower and, since there is no reference to the southern hall, we may assume it was erected later in the order of construction. According to Oliver, the two towers were constructed in front of the castle (Wall V in Figure 6.3); that is, this wall forms the westernmost line of defence and thus encloses the castle inwards.

The *Briefe*, however, only states that: *Utraque turris duas habebit testudines, secundum quas altitudo disponitur*. This is not the only difference in content between the *Briefe* and *Historia*, but this particular point is interesting for the accuracy of the dimensions specified in the *Historia*: the length of the tower and its width, 100 feet (c.30.5 m) and 74 feet (c.22.5 m), respectively, which are very close to the actual measurements of the towers. The tall wall (Figure 6.5) seen from afar is the eastern wall of the north-eastern tower, one of the two towers mentioned as located in front of the castle. Their size is almost equal to the measurements given in the text: 30 m in length and 22 m in width, which may indicate that Oliver was reliably informed by a Templar official, possibly the actual architect of the castle or another who was closely familiar with the construction details and could contribute to amending the text of the *Briefe*. It is also possible that by that time, Walter, who was married to Count Thibault V of Blois's older sister, who herself inherited the county in 1218, had become Count of Blois in 1218, while away on the Crusade in the East. The county of Blois was of considerable importance at that time in France. Oliver, who was unaware of Walter's new status in 1218, could have come across this information later, and thus included his name in the *Historia* and stressed his involvement in the construction of the castle, and consequently amended the original text. Walter returned to the West soon after, as in February 1223 his name is mentioned in regard to a claim to have restored to him a fortress he had built at Estrées Saint Denis.⁶⁶ Walter never returned to the East, but remained attentive to the internal affairs between the counts of Flanders and the kings of France. His involvement in the affairs of the Templars in the East was thus restricted afterwards to any information that he might receive from the order's officials.⁶⁷



Figure 6.5 Eastern wall of great northern tower. View to north

Source: IAA Scientific Archive 'Atlit Castle Towers.

Wall III: springs

*Item murus alius paulo distans a turribus extenditur ab uno latere maris ad aliud puteum habens aque vive inclusum.*⁶⁸

Here Oliver refers to the low, thin wall separating the Walled Area from the castle proper. Two gates are positioned, one at the northern and one at the southern end of the wall and, upon passing through this barrier, the visitor to 'Atlit encounters the castle defences. The well, noted by Conder and Kitchener, is situated east of the three-tower wall (Wall IV in Figure 6.4).

The Latin sentence shown earlier significantly contributes to our understanding of the order of construction. Had the three-tower wall been built at the time of Oliver's presence there, it is probable that he would have mentioned it, and not the two-tower wall, as the wall in front of the castle.

Surrounding walls

*Promunctorium ab utroque latere muro cingitur alto et novo usque ad rupes;*⁶⁹

The castle plan utilised the halls surrounding the promontory as fortifications, thus eliminating the need for additional defensive walls. A change in the initial plan resulted in an enclosing wall for the south hall, stretching from the two-tower wall to the western end of the hall. A quay projected from the southern end and on the south-west the halls again served as the exterior walls of the buildings situated on the water edge. A sea wall was built on the south-western tip of the promontory to protect the halls from storms and waves.

Foundation trenches are preserved along the northern, western, and eastern boundaries of the castle. They are now exposed where the walls once existed, as well as on the abrasion platform on the south-western end of the promontory, where they are more than 2.7 m wide. This was the method used for the construction of the masonry walls directly on the rocky platform of the promontory. The trenches were typically carved to a depth of merely 10–15 cm, with some areas slightly deeper according to the natural rock, sufficient to stabilise the thick walls. Along the northern range, the outer walls of the long-vaulted galleries again served as the external walls of the castle. These were reinforced by iron clamps inserted into the building blocks, close to their external, northern face. The rectangular cavities for these clamps were originally square, filled with lead, and no iron clamps have remained *in situ*. Only a few blocks preserving this method from the lower layers are still *in situ* along the northern and eastern walls. They were probably removed during the dismantling of the castle in later periods, with the iron clamps taken for reuse.

Oratory, palace, buildings

*Oratorium cum palatio et domibus plurimis castrum includit.*⁷⁰

Oliver's description of the conventual buildings is frustratingly minimal. Considering the architectural remains of the castle, and particularly its chapel, this line referring to the ecclesiastical and conventual buildings merely suggests that Oliver was present at the site during the construction of the eastern fortifications, but was away when the building in the western part of the castle was erected, only to hear later about the castle chapel, the grand halls of the western range and the domestic quarters. The castle chapel, built on the highest place on the promontory, was elevated above all the surrounding structures. In contrast to the eastern fortifications – walls and towers – all the buildings along the northern, western, and southern ranges are single-story structures, with top galleries surrounding them. Access to the galleries was enabled via staircases built into the width of the walls, taking advantage of the vaults for the positioning of the steps.

Templar ownership and territory

*Huius edificii prima est utilitas, quod conventus Templariorum eductus de peccatrice et omni spurcitia plena civitate Accon in huius castris presidio residebit usque ad reparationem murorum Jerusalem.*⁷¹

Chapter 6 of the *Historia* terminates with a brief outline of regional characteristics. The last part of the chapter contains further details on various subjects that are only briefly mentioned in the letter. Oliver reorganised this passage in the letter, presenting the various subjects following the methodology of the *Historia*, with each subject independent of the following one. Templar possessions in the northern part of their Caesarea lands included the area of 'Atlit castle.⁷² The fertile area (*Territorium munitiois huius piscariis, salinis, lignis, pascuis, agris et herbis habundat*),⁷³ encompassed several villages and towers that were probably part of the Templar territory that stretched south to Merle (Dor), long before the construction of 'Atlit. The first mention of Merle as a Templar property is in a list of the *civitates et castella* of the Kingdom of Jerusalem following Saladin's victory at the Battle of Hattin. Benjamin Z. Kedar published in 2009 the edition of the *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, (*Roger of Howden, Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E.xvii, fol. 125v), where *Merle Templi* appears under the section *Castella*.⁷⁴ The recovered territory continued to be in Templar hands at least until 1265. In *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis*, Marino Sanudo Torsello (c.1270–c.1334) illustrated the borders of *Syria Phonice* that extends as far as *Petra Incisa*, and was called Districtum, below Mount Carmel, and now called *Castrum Peregrinorum*, which once belonged to the Knights of the Temple. Importantly, he states that Merle/Dor (*Dora*) also belonged to the Templars and that they were forced to pay an annual sum of 28,000 besants (*annuatim solubant domino Assur XXVIII. millia bizantiorum*) even after its loss to the Lord of Assur, possibly Baybars, but more likely Al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn.⁷⁵ The description is therefore of the situation after 1265, and possibly before 1272, as the territory of 'Atlit contained five villages in 1268, and 16 properties as assigned in the treaty of 1272

between Baybars and King Hugh (and the military orders), and in the 1283 treaty between Sultan Qalāwūn and the Frankish authorities of Acre.⁷⁶

Harbour

*Habet hec structura portum naturaliter bonum, qui artificio adiutus poterit esse melior.*⁷⁷

The natural harbour mentioned in the text could refer to either the northern or southern range of the castle: the northern harbour where the Phoenician-period harbour is located, or the southern bay. Two sandstone bars seen on the northern range, relicts of the north-western 'Atlit ridge, are now cut off from the promontory. These sandstone bars served for construction of the Phoenician harbour,⁷⁸ the remains of which are possibly referred to later in the text as ancient walls. The remains of the Phoenician harbour were probably as visible then as they are today.⁷⁹ In the southern bay, the remains of a jetty and a mooring stone were also noted by Johns as a stone bollard.⁸⁰ Thus, it is more likely that Oliver was referring to the southern bay of 'Atlit as a natural harbour that could be improved.

Regional location

*Sex miliaribus distat a monte Thabor; unde huius castris constructio presumitur fuisse causa destructionis munitio illius, quia in campo longo et lato, qui interiacet montanis castris huius et montis Thabor, nec arare nec seminare nec metere quisquam secure poterat propter metum habitantium in eo.*⁸¹

Oliver mentions several reasons for the construction of 'Atlit at its current site, as he describes the long wide plain between the castle and Mount Tabor. The destruction of the castle on Mount Tabor was considered crucial for the Muslim to ensure their presence in the area between the castle and the coastline.⁸² The distance between the castle and Mount Tabor is given only in the *Historia*. The text refers to *sex miliaribus*, which could be a scribal error, as the walking distance between 'Atlit Castle and Mount Tabor is some 60 km, c.40 *miliaria*, rather than six miles (or six hours).⁸³ Nevertheless, it is possible that Oliver never marched to Tabor and the distance he recorded is a detail that he had received from a secondary source.⁸⁴

Conclusion

In conclusion, the text of the *Historia Damiatina* as well as the letters that Oliver had sent from the East while on crusade, are considered a major contribution to the renewed study of 'Atlit Castle. Along with a multitude of details relating to the affairs of the Fifth Crusade, and particularly to the Templars, the text is essential

for a greater understanding of the construction process of the Templar castle. It develops in a logical linear pattern and the author leads the reader from one scene to the next, from personal to spatial foci and to well-defined descriptions of scenery and events. Moreover, the discrepancies between the original texts and the modifications that Oliver introduced when composing the *Historia*, in addition to improving the syntax of the Latin, provide a rare insight into several issues. First, the attention paid to the relations that the Templars held with the knight Walter of Avesnes, a benefactor of the order, whose name is mentioned only in the reworked text of the *Historia*. Did the need to include the name of their supporter generate such textual modifications? Or should we ascribe these discrepancies to a Templar appeal aimed at reiterating their status as providers of the crusader armies. Emphasised by the mention of funds allocated and the efforts invested in building an enormous castle that could serve as a maritime base for the crusader vessels, this latter contention is based on the presence of various elements that seem to reflect the influence that the Templars had on Oliver, albeit after the initial text had been composed. Second, the *Historia* contains significant details regarding the construction of 'Atlit Castle proper, demonstrating knowledge and familiarity rather than merely the application of theological or methodological tools to the narrative. The language in both versions is almost similar, yet clearly improved in the *Historia*; and the applied amplification of content and style emphasises the activities of the Templars. The fact that the *Historia* contains not only the personal details of a particular individual but also technical details concerning construction, corroborates this interpretation of the additional elements in the *Historia* as resulting from Templar influence on the final version of the text. We can only speculate on when and where this "editorial" work was carried out, and whether it was in the physical presence of a Templar envoy or through correspondence. The latter at least leaves us with a hope for the discovery of additional texts in the future.

Notes

This study is part of the 'Atlit Castle Project. I am grateful to the Israel Antiquities Authority for supporting this research. This research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation (grant No. 1207/19).

- 1 Robert B.C. Huygens, "Un nouveau Texte du traité 'De constructione castri Saphet'," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series 6/I (1965): 355–87.
- 2 Denys Pringle, "Review Article: Reconstructing the Castle of Safed," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 117/2 (1985): 139–49.
- 3 For a detailed account of the archaeological excavations at the castle of Safed and its surroundings see Hervé Barbé, *Le château de Safed et son territoire à l'époque des croisades* (PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2010).
- 4 *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, letter III, 99–100; According to de Vitry, Oliver arrived in the East only after the commencement of works in 1218, see *Lettres*, 82–84.
- 5 H. Kümper, "Oliver of Paderborn," in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. G. Dunphy, vol. 2 (Leiden, 2010), 1166–67. For some background on Oliver's life and career, and the details of the letters and the way they were rewritten see Thomas W. Smith, "Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiatina*: A New Manuscript Witness in Dublin," Trinity College Library MS 496 *Hermathena*, 194, *Fabellae Dublinenses Revisited and other Essays in Honour of Marvin Colker* (Summer 2013): 37–68.

- 6 Cardinal Oliver, *Historia Damiatina, Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters Oliverus*, ed. H. Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894). *Briefe*, 288–95; *Historia*, 161–282; 169–71. Oliver dispatched letters (*Briefe*) to the West while being in *Outremer*. In the first letter (end of August 1218), he narrated the events that had taken place during the course of the Fifth Crusade; and in the second he commented on the capture of Damiatta on 4–5 November 1219. The letters were later incorporated into his narrative history of the expedition, known as the *Historia Damiatina*. The final version of his experiences during the Fifth Crusade was published after his return from the East. Oliver of Paderborn is recorded as being there on 16 February 1222. See note 5.
- 7 Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIIIe siècle* (Cyprus, 2005), 1:259, citing Huygens, “Un nouveau Texte du traité ‘De constructione castris Saphet’,” 359.
- 8 See for example William W. Ryding, *Structure in Medieval Narrative* (The Hague, 1971), 62–114, esp. 67–68; Arnette J.F. Clark, “Temporal and Spatial Perceptions as Modes of Expression in Le roman du comte d’Anjou,” in *Disputatio*, vol. 4: *Discourses of Power: Grammar and Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, eds. Carol Poster and Richard J. Utz (Evanston, IL, 1999), 91.
- 9 My thanks to Estelle Ingrand-Varenne for her insights and comments on this section.
- 10 Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre* (Cambridge, 2005), 175–76.
- 11 Pierre-Vincent Claverie, “‘Totius populi Christiani negotium’ The Crusading Concept of Pope Honorius III, 1216–1261,” in *The Fifth Crusade in Context: The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century*, eds. E.J. Mylod, Guy Perry, Thomas W. Smith, and Jan Vandeburie (Abingdon and New York, 2017), 27–39.
- 12 Christopher Schabel, *Bullarium Cyprium*, 2 vols. (Nicosia, 2010), 1:183–85, no. c-3; RRR 1748.
- 13 RRR 1805.
- 14 Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 171.
- 15 *Item, et quod in alia littera erat quedam alia, in qua idem magister passagii significaverat memorato Magistro ordinis, quod illa statuta ordinis, que facta fuerant apud castrum peregrini, jam merant revelata. Le procès de templiers*, ed. Jules Michelet, 2 vols. (Paris, 1841–1851), I: 458. Jochen Burgtorf rejected the possibility of relocating the central headquarters from Acre in ‘Atlit, despite the fact that chapters were also held at ‘Atlit. Jochen Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)* (Leiden and Boston, 2008).
- 16 See Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 124 citing: Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templer ordens, 1118/19–1314* (Göttingen, 1974), 181.
- 17 [The castle is] situated in the diocese of Caesarea between Haifa and Caesarea. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 169. Translation of the following sections from the *Historia* is after Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, *The Templars* (Manchester and New York, 2002), 82–84.
- 18 Peter was probably the brother of the Hospitaller Master Garin of Montaigu (1207–1227/8). See Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 518–19.
- 19 In another comparison, in the text describing the construction of Safed, the Master of the Temple, Armand de Périgord, was mentioned in detail, and his contribution to Bishop Benoît d’Alignan’s initiative is clearly stated.
- 20 However, the Templars, with Lord Walter of Avesnes and some pilgrim helpers and others from the hospital of the house of the Teutons, began to consolidate the Pilgrims’ Castle, previously known as Destroit, . . . Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 169.
- 21 *Templarii vero cum paucis auxiliatoribus peregrinis et hospitali de domo Theutonicorum*. Oliver Scholasticus, *Briefe, Relatio magistri Oliveri Coloniensis scolastici de expeditione Jherosolimitana*, in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*, ed. Hermann Hoogeweg, 290.

- 22 Marie-Anna Chevalier, "L'ordre du Temple en Orient: quelle représentation de la classe chevaleresque?," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 97/2 (2018): 19–45.
- 23 Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 169.
- 24 *Et cestui nom li mist Gautier d'Avenes, (fils de Jacques d'Avesne), qui dist que it seroit son parrein, et mist sur la premierre pierre mil besans Sarasinas a oez dou labor.* *RHC Occ.* vol. II, 325–26. Rudolf Hiestand, "Castrum Peregrinorum e la fine del dominio crociato in Siria," in *Acri 1291*, ed., Francesco Tommasi (Perugia, 1996), 23–41.
- 25 H.A. Hoogeweg, 'Der kölnen Domscholaster Oliver als Kreuzprediger 1214–1217.' *Westdeutsche Zetschrift für Geschichte und Kunst* 7 (1888): 235–70. Hoogewe contended that when Oliver preached the cross in the area between Brügge und Gent (Bruges and Ghent, Modern Belgium) he was accompanied by "Bernhard von Heisterbach, ein Priester mit Namen Sigerus. Der Mann war von äusserlich schöner Erscheinung, nach Art der Templer gekleidet und in seiner Sprache wollt beredt," at 247.
- 26 Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Abingdon, 2016, first published 2008), 85; *Historia Damiatina*, 162–63: *Aderant episcopi peregrini, archiepiscopus Nicosiensis, Joriensis, Agrenensis, Ungariensis, Baiocensis, stenhergensis, Sicensis, Monesteriensis et Traiectensis et cum eis vir potens et nobilis, dominus Galtherus qui reversus in passagio vernali quadraginta milites reliquit in servito terra sancta, quibus providit sumptus sufficientes per annum.*
- 27 The entire event is described in Albert of Aachen, *History of the Journey to Jerusalem, The First Crusade, 1095–1099*, trans. Susan Edgington (Crusade Texts in Translation 24), ed. Susan Edgington, 2 vols. (Farnham, 2013), vol. 1: 245. The lordship of Hebron was given to Gérard d'Avesnes by the King, see Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader States* (London, 2012), 52–53.
- 28 Anne Mcgee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries and England* (University Park, 2000), 53; M.A. Pollock, *Scotland, England, and France after the Loss of Normandy, 1204–1296: 'Auld Amitie'* (Woodbridge, 2015), 28, 159, 166–67, 183–85.
- 29 Margaret and Bouchard's marriage was arranged by the French King Philip Augustus, see David M. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London, 1992), 156–57.
- 30 Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266–1305* (Cambridge, 2011), 120.
- 31 Eugène Mannier, *Ordre de Malte: Les commanderies du Grand-prieuré de France, d'après les documents inédits conservés aux Archives nationales à Paris* (Paris, 1872) Part 2. 519–20: September 1205, His brother's son was granted the Temple land in this same area again in 1251. Another grant to the Temple at Saint Aubin was made in 1251, when Felicity (daughter of Egidius and Agnes, sister of Thomas) married Baudouin (son of Bouchard d'Avesnes, and Marguerite, Countess of Flanders). Jean-Jacques Hoebanx and Charles Wirtz, *Table chronologique des chartes et diplômes imprimés concernant l'histoire de la Belgique*, vol. XI (Brussels, 1965) part 1:10, 166.
- 32 Amédée Piette, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Michel en Thiérache* (Vervins, 1883), 65.
- 33 Fortuné Raymond, *Histoire populaire illustrée de la Champagne du Barrois et de la Brie*, vol. I (Paris, 1903), 181; *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs: monastère parisien*, vol. 3, ed. Joseph Depoin, 275–76, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k110141g/f278.item.r=Galthero%20de%20Avennis.zoom>
- 34 A high promontory of considerable size overhangs the sea. It has a natural rock defence to the north, west and south. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 169.
- 35 Gideon Almagor, *The Israeli Mediterranean Sea Coast*. Report GSI/13/02 (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 2005), 222–23.
- 36 [W]hile to the east is a strong tower built a long time ago by the Templars and held in both time of war and truce. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 169.
- 37 The tower had been built there previously to defend against bandits, who would attack pilgrims in the narrow pass on their way to or from Jerusalem. It is not far from the

- sea and because the pass is narrow it was called Destroit. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 169.
- 38 Helen Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Abingdon, 1997), 240–41.
- 39 29 August 1219, Ernoul *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. Louis Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), 414.
- 40 Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 254.
- 41 Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1993), vol. 1: 69.
- 42 “Burchard of Mount Sion, Description of the Holy Land (1274–1285),” trans. Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (Farnham, 2012), 244–45, 247. Philip of Savona also refers to Pilgrims’ Castle, which in antiquity was called *Petra incisa*. Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 352.
- 43 Through the entire period of the consolidation and completion of the fort of Caesarea, . . . Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 169–70.
- 44 The Templars dug across the promontory, working for six weeks until they finally reached the initial foundations, where they discovered an ancient wall that was long and thick.
- 45 RRR 1804; RRH, no. 913; Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, no. 3 pp. 82–83, Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 172.
- 46 Arad Haggi, “Report on Underwater Excavation,” *Nautical Archaeology* 39/2 (2010): 278–85.
- 47 They even found money there in coins unknown to modern times, assembled there by the generosity of the Son of God to alleviate the expense and the efforts of His soldiers. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 170.
- 48 David Metcalf, Robert Kool, and Ariel Berman, “Coins from the Excavations at ‘Atlit (Pilgrims’ Castle and its Faubourg),” *‘Atiqot* 37 (1999): 89–164. The term Walled Area is preferred here. C.N. Johns termed the area outside the castle and within the outer wall using various names such as the town, suburb, the faubourg. Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origin and the Revival of Trade* (Princeton, 1939). Benjamin Hendrickx and Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx, “Bourgs, Faubourgs et Bourgeois dans la Grèce Franque après 1204,” *Byzantinos Domos*, 19–21 (2011): 121–46.
- 49 “Ubi tot et tanta effuderunt divitias, quod mirum est unde eas accipiant,” *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, letter III, 99–100; Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, 82.
- 50 See note 21.
- 51 Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 207: *Cui etiam comes Cestrie quingentas marcas argenti donavit ad murorum et turrium firmamentum*; Iain Soden, *Ranulf de Blondville* (Stroud, 2009), 88. A little later (15 September 1218), Duke Leopold of Austria had received 2000 ‘marcs of Acre’ from the Hospitallers, which he was to return within two years (RRR 1807, *Cart. Hosp.* II:250, 1624, RRH, no. 914a, cf. Nicholson 2001:60). We can assume that Oliver referred to the Cologne marc, which weighed 231 grams of pure silver. Pers. com. Robert Kool 28 May 2017. See also Robert Kool, *The Circulation and Use of Coins in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099–1291 CE* (PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2013), 179, n. 103.
- 52 Claverie, *L’ordre du Temple* 2:411–12, no. 1.
- 53 Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l’Orient (1216–1227) Étude et publication de sources inédites des Archives vaticanes* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), 382–83, no. 69.
- 54 Later, as they were removing sand from a more advanced part where they were digging, they came across another, shorter wall. Generous springs of freshwater were bubbling up on the flat area between the walls. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 170.
- 55 ‘Atlit 2nd Jacket, ATQ_41 (134 / 129), IAA Scientific Archive, 2pp.

- 56 Claude Reignier Conder and Earl Horatio Herbert Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography, and Archaeology*, 3 vols. (London, 1881–1883), vol. I. pl. opp, 293.
- 57 see below in note 65.
- 58 The lord provided quantities of stones and mortar. Two towers were constructed in front of the castle from squared and hewn stones of such great size that one is almost too heavy for a two oxen cart. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 170.
- 59 It is possible that the paving of the chapel was of marble, but this remains to be confirmed in an archaeological excavation.
- 60 Avraham Ronen and Ya'acov Olami, 'Atlit Map. Archaeological Survey of Israel (Jerusalem, 1978).
- 61 The castle was also protected from the effects of the ravaging sea waves with a sea wall around the south-western hall. The western area of the castle had been significantly battered as a result of these sea waves breaking against the walls. The remains of the south-western hall suffered the effects of winds, especially during winter storms when the wind is south-western. Winds following storms are western and northern. The prevailing winds during summer are also south-western. Wind patterns have not changed dramatically since the thirteenth century. The south-western prevailing wind in May prevented the departure of the armies in 1218 (Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia*, 175–76). For a study of ancient wind patterns and their modern reconstruction, see William M. Murray, "Do Modern Winds Equal Ancient Winds?" *Mediterranean Historical Review* 2 (1987): 139–67.
- 62 Each tower is 100 feet long and 74 feet wide and its thickness contains two vaulted halls. Its height is considerable, exceeding the height of the promontory. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 170.
- 63 Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 181.
- 64 Oliver describes the two vaults as *binas . . . testudines*, the medieval Latin word for a vaulted hall is that of a somewhat picturesque tortoise shell.
- 65 Between the two towers a new, high wall has been built with bulwarks, and by wonderful ingenuity armed knights can go up and down on the inside. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 170–71.
- 66 In the end Walter withdrew his claims and received in exchange a piece of land of a size equal to that of the site taken by the fortress and the pits that surrounded it. *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie*. 1859, VI, 37. Paris; the Avesnes family held authority over all castles and fortresses in the county as well as the lordship of Hainaut, Brabant and Ostervant from earlier times, See *Gilbert of Mons Chronicles of Haninaut*, trans. Laura Napran (Woodbridge, 2005), 44–45.
- 67 In 1239, the Master of the Temple, Armand de Périgord, wrote to him to report about a new threat. *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, *MGH SS* 23:945–46. See also Claverie 2014:90–92.
- 68 Also, another wall at a small distance from the towers extends from one shore of the sea to another, enclosing a well of freshwater. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 171.
- 69 The promontory is encircled on both sides by a high new wall as far as the rocks. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 171.
- 70 The castle contains an oratory, with a palace and several houses. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 171.
- 71 The primary usefulness of this building is that the convent of the Templars has been removed from the sin and vice that fester in the city of Acre, and will remain as garrison of this castle until the walls of Jerusalem have been rebuilt. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 171.
- 72 Steven Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordship in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291* (New York, 1989), 111, 147–50.

- 73 The territory surrounding this fortification abounds in fisheries, salt pans, woods, pastures, fields and plants; its inhabitants rejoice in the vineyards they have already planted and prepare to plant, in their gardens and orchards. Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 171.
- 74 Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Civitas and castellum in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Contemporary Frankish Perceptions," *Burgen und Schlösser* 4 (2009): 199–210, list printed at 203.
- 75 Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of Al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 AH/1279–1290 AD)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 30; Marinus Sanutus, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (Hanover, 1611), Vol. 2:2, 246.
- 76 For the villages and the territory of 'Atlit after 1265 see Rabei Khamisy, "The Unratified Treaty between the Mamlūks and the Franks of Acre in 1268," *Al-Masaq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 26/2 (2014): 147–67. For the treaty of 1283 see Rabei Khamisy, "The Treaty of 1283 between Sultan Qalāwūn and the Frankish Authorities of Acre: A New Topographical Discussion," *Israel Exploration Journal* 64/1 (2014): 72–102.
- 77 "This structure has a good natural harbour that could be improved by man's intelligence." Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 171.
- 78 Arad Haggi, "Report on Underwater Excavation at the Phoenician Harbour, Atlit, Israel," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 39 (2010): 278–85. A better description of the harbour is still that of the short text of the survey of 'Atlit from 1978: Avraham Ronen and Ya'acov Olami, 'Atlit Map, Archaeological Survey of Israel (Jerusalem, 1978), 35–38.
- 79 For sea level change in the last 2.5 millennia see: Yaacov Nir, "Middle and Late Holocene Sea-Levels along the Israel Mediterranean Coast – Evidence from Ancient Water Wells," *Journal of Quaternary Science* 12/2 (March/April 1997): 143–51. For sea level drop of up to about 50±20 cm along the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean basin during the Frankish period see: Eilat Toker, Dorit Sivan, Eliezer Stern, Boris Shirman, Michael Tsimplis, and Giorgio Spada, "Evidence for Centennial Scale Sea Level Variability During the Medieval Climate Optimum (Crusader Period) in Israel, Eastern Mediterranean," *Earth and Planetary Science Letters*, 315–16 (2012): 51–61.
- 80 Johns 1947 *Guide to 'Atlit*, 49–50.
- 81 "It is six [*sic!*] miles from Mount Tabor, and this fact is thought to explain the destruction of the fortification there, because in the long wide plain that lies between the mountains of this castle and Mount Tabor nobody could plough, sow nor harvest in safety because they were afraid of those living in it." Oliver Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, 171–72.
- 82 Ibn Wasil Mufarrij, *al-kurūb fī akhbār banī Ayyub*, 5 vols. (Cairo, 1955–1977), vol. 3, 215–16.
- 83 Miliaria (*p.* of miliare), 1 Roman mile (one thousand paces) = 1.479804 km. Six Roman miles = 8.878824 km. See also Ronnie Ellenblum, "Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, eds. David Abulafia and Nora Bernard (1st ed. 2002, Abingdon, 2016), 105–20, at 114.
- 84 Cf. Ronnie Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007), 137.

7 Medieval 'Atlit in the historiography of incarceration

Yvonne Friedman

In speaking of the creation of prisons as punitive institutions, modern historians invoke Michel Foucault. Foucault, who assigns their invention to the late eighteenth century, under the influence of Enlightenment ideas about human reform and the role of the State in this process, categorically asserts, "At the turn of the eighteenth century there was, it is true, a penalty of detention and it was a new thing."¹ Scholarly acceptance of his argument has led to the denial of a penal role for prisons in earlier periods. The prevailing view was that, throughout the Middle Ages, prisons served for pretrial custody or to force defaulting debtors to pay; punitive incarceration was "at best, a negligible exception."² As Foucault admitted that he was writing "the history of the present,"³ it is not surprising that historical periods which did not fit his thesis on the modern birth of prisons did not merit accurate descriptions. He has been justly criticised for combining historical phenomena divided by decades and seeing France as a paradigm for the entire medieval prison system.⁴

Various historians have recently challenged his claim that punitive incarceration did not exist in the Middle Ages. Regarding medieval English prisons, Ralph B. Pugh writes that they were used as a punishment: "for every type of fraud, contempt, disobedience to authority, failure in public duty, and petty crime, although, except in the case of 'clerks,' not for felony."⁵ In her study of imprisonment in the medieval religious imagination, Megan Cassidy-Welch has also shown that the punitive prison was far from being a modern invention.⁶ Indeed, Guy Geltner claims that secular, urban prisons were widespread as punitive institutions in fourteenth-century Italy.⁷ But Foucault's influence was so seminal that when Edward Peters wrote the medieval chapter in the *Oxford History of the Prison* he titled it "Prison before Prison" as if medieval punitive prisons had no right to exist.⁸

But, consideration of the existence of the Templar prison at 'Atlit, and the explicit statement in the Templar Rule that this is a venue for punishing brothers who have broken the Rule,⁹ supports the position of those scholars who place the origins of prisons as punitive institutions in the premodern period.¹⁰ Although the most common punishment in the Rule is loss of the habit and expulsion to a stricter monastery,¹¹ imprisonment and being put in irons frequently appear there. This proves that incarceration was often used not only for prejudgement detention but also as the punishment itself, and even as a life sentence that ended with

the brother's death.¹² The punitive aspects of imprisonment can be demonstrated by consulting the Catalan version of the Templar rule. There erring brothers who had been incarcerated (probably as captives) in Aleppo were not punished for their former misdeeds because they were deemed to have suffered enough: "But because they were in prison and had enough pain and discomfort, they let the thing pass, so that they were not judged to have committed another fault. And when they returned from prison none of the brothers spoke about it because the brothers who had committed the fault were worthy men."¹³

I tentatively suggest that the inconsistency in the Templar Rule, which calls for expulsion and then goes on to tell the story of how the culprits were in fact incarcerated, reflects a historical development, whose *terminus post quem* is the building of the 'Atlit Castle. Namely, the type of punishment changed after the prison was built; in turn, the need for a prison was itself a sign of a shift in the order's penal ideology.¹⁴

Medieval monastic prisons developed in the Cistercian order, starting with the statutes of 1206 and more explicitly 1229.¹⁵ As the Templar order was founded under Cistercian influence, the building of a prison at 'Atlit perhaps reflects this development. The Cistercian statutes attest to more frequent sentences of imprisonment in the thirteenth century, and this also appears to be the case for the Templar Rule.¹⁶ Backing this proposed shift in Templar ideology requires comparison of the punishment of prisoners at 'Atlit to the contemporary prisons.

Medieval punishment is the context in which we must consider the prison. One common punishment, also mentioned in the Templar Rule, was to place someone in irons; in the medieval imagination, prison was closely connected to chains.¹⁷ The usual artistic depiction of imprisonment showed the prisoner chained to the wall in his cell, and miraculous deliverance from incarceration was depicted as the breaking of irons. Thus, Saint Benedict dissolved the chains of a captive who prayed to him,¹⁸ and Saint Leonard of Noblac was associated with miraculous rescuing of prisoners. Natural deliverance through ransom was depicted in the same way; see Matthew Paris's depiction of the freed captives leaving the prison: with dangling, broken shackles (Figure 7.1). But it would be a mistake to assume that being "put in irons" necessarily meant prison. As Alan Forey has shown, it was not unusual to place a shackled felon on public display rather than locking him away in a prison.¹⁹ Both punishments might be meted out together but could also be imposed separately. As in other cases in the Templar Rule, for example, the famous punishment of a brother who had to eat on the floor with the dogs,²⁰ or eat without a napkin,²¹ a focal aspect of the punishment was its public nature, which aimed both to serve as a deterrent for the other brothers and as a means of shaming the errant Templar.

Moreover, the prison at the Templar castle of 'Atlit – and medieval secular prisons – diverge from the modern notion of distancing prisons from the community and population centres. Thirteenth century municipal prisons were built inside the city; thus, prisoners in a way remained part of the community and passers-by might give them charity in the form of food or converse with them.²² In the Benedictine monastery of Bury St. Edmund, a dissenting monk "was excommunicated

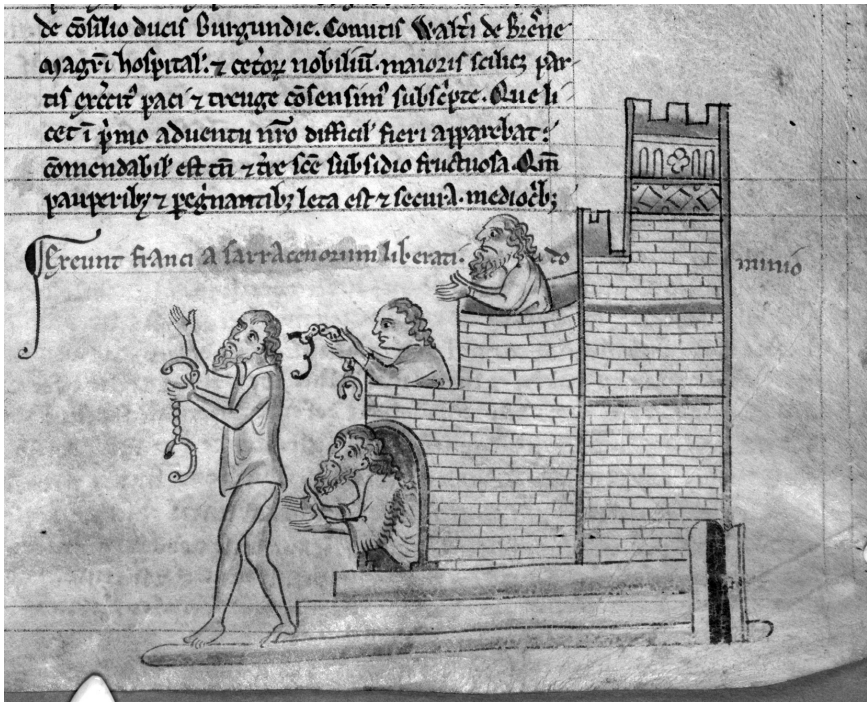


Figure 7.1 Matthew Paris's depiction of the freed captives leaving the prison: with dangling, broken shackles

Source: Credit Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

and afterwards put in chains for a whole day and remained till morning in the infirmary."²³ This was in the twelfth century, before monasteries had prisons.²⁴ Note, however, that the notion of the transgressor as sick and his punishment as part of the process of healing did not exclude the public shaming that was part of the punishment.²⁵

Is it possible to trace a historical development in the Templar verdicts and punishments as reflected in the Rule? Whereas the verdicts of expulsion seem to predominate in the early Rule, disconnecting the transgressing Templar from his former community, placing him in irons and/or in prison may have allowed him to remain part of his original community. As incarceration came to play an increasing role in the punitive strategy of the order, this necessitated the building of prisons, leaving traces both in the physical outlay of the convents and in the military order's historical records.

One engaging feature of the Templar Rule is its inclusion of historical events as examples or perhaps as precedents for its stipulations. One such story describes the punishment meted out to three Templar brothers who killed "Christian merchants" in Antioch.²⁶ First, they were led through the streets of Antioch, Tripoli,

Tyre, and Acre in a procession of public shaming, flogging, and confession before being incarcerated. They had to cry out "See here the justice which the house exacts from its wicked men."²⁷ The description is so vivid as to make us expect what would have been the natural outcome had this been a text from fourteenth-century Europe, namely, a public execution.²⁸ Instead, the brothers were incarcerated for life in 'Atlit, even though the rule explicitly cites expulsion as the punishment for the sin of murdering a Christian,²⁹ and this was apparently the original sentence.³⁰ What then was the aim of the shaming procession and of its recording?

It is instructive to compare this story, which took place before 1267, to the earlier, more famous incident recounted by William of Tyre about the Templars who in 1173–1174 intercepted, and killed the members of, a diplomatic delegation of the assassins to the king. William of Tyre was enraged not only by the homicide and its diplomatic repercussions but also by the Templars' presumption to judge and punish the murderers themselves and thus evade royal jurisdiction by the benefit of clergy, notwithstanding that most Templars were laymen. The king, who intervened in this case and personally punished the perpetrators, clearly thought so too.³¹ This suggests that the purpose of the public shaming processions in the main cities of the Latin Kingdom in the thirteenth century, outside the order's precincts, was to show that the culprits were in fact being suitably punished and would eventually die in prison. This enabled the order not to hand them over to lay jurisdiction and possible execution. Note that, although the incident took place in Antioch, the offenders were sent to 'Atlit, which apparently served as the main prison for the whole order.³²

Another such story recounted in the Rule concerns Templar brothers identified as Lucas, Gi de la Permenteria, and Vincent who were caught caressing in the convent, namely, engaging in homosexual acts.³³ This was seen as such a heinous sin that they were taken to Acre and placed in heavy irons. Lucas managed to escape at night and went to the Saracens; the others were transferred to the prison in 'Atlit. From there one of the culprits tried to escape: "and so he died" (*si fu mors*) says the text drily as if that was the natural outcome of any attempt to escape from 'Atlit.³⁴ The third brother "remained in prison for a long time."³⁵ In this case too, the story indicates that the prison in 'Atlit served as the central prison for the entire Templar order, to which convicted brothers were transferred. It appears that the room in Acre where they were detained prior to sentencing was less secure than the 'Atlit prison.

However, even the royal prison in Acre knew escapes. Six of Baybars' captains were held prisoner for three years in Acre; when the negotiations for their ransom failed, they managed to escape after passing on huge bribes to enable the smuggling of saws into the prison in 1274. The fugitives managed to escape through a window and reach the shore undetected, fleeing by sea to a place under Mamluk rule from where they rode on horseback to Safed, then in the hands of the Mamluks.³⁶ Earlier, in King Amalric's day (1163), Frankish prisoners were incarcerated in the castle in Cairo, whereas Muslims caught at the same time in

Acre were placed in the *Ma'asera al-kazav*, the sugar press, and not in a prison in the castle.³⁷ It is unclear if this was because there was at that time no better prison in Acre or because the captives were used as forced labour in the sugar factory.³⁸

The story of the fate of the convicted Templar brothers mentioned previously may indicate that incarceration in the order's prison in 'Atlit was such a bleak prospect that it made the risk of escaping to the Muslims, or an almost suicidal attempt to escape from the prison itself, worthwhile. Compare Matthew Paris's illustration of the Prince of Wales, Gruffydd ap Llewelyn's futile attempt to escape from the Tower of London.³⁹ Although this was a case of a political prisoner incarcerated in a secular, royal prison, apparently escaping from 'Atlit was no easier.

In the same way, the Rule tells us how:

Brother George the mason left Acre and went to the Saracens, and the Master knew it, so he sent brothers after him, and he was found guilty, and they found the clothing of a secular man under his own clothing; so he was sent to Château Pèlerin ['Atlit] where he was put in prison and died.⁴⁰

In this case, too, according to the Rule, the original punishment should have been expulsion and was changed to perpetual imprisonment, with the offender transferred from Acre to the prison in 'Atlit. But why was the order's central prison not located in the huge, impressive Templar compound in Acre, the order's headquarters in the thirteenth century? I surmise that, like the Hospitallers, the Templars may have had a prison in Acre, but that it was used for captives or political prisoners, not as a punitive institution.⁴¹ In 1244 Marsilio Zorzi, the bailli of the commune of Venice, mentions a prison among its properties in Acre located in a vault of their tower, but this prison also functioned to hold captives and was listed because of its economic worth.⁴² Thus, although the Templars, like other important establishments in Acre, may have owned a prison in the city, it did not have punitive functions.

This brings us to the question of the location and facilities of the 'Atlit prison. Much to my disappointment, the renewed archaeological survey has yet to pinpoint the location of the prison in 'Atlit castle.⁴³ Thus, we can only surmise what it could or should have looked like from other sources. Medieval prisons were usually just a dark, closed room located in a well-defended stronghold of a castle. Its two main punitive characteristics – impregnability and gloominess – were not necessarily mutually exclusive. But it seems that in the case of a prison for detaining a transgressor or, even more importantly, a captive whose life might be worth money, greater emphasis would be placed on strong fortifications to prevent escape. Therefore, prisons of that sort were often a dungeon located in the strongest tower, the donjon. Depictions of the prison's punitive aspect usually show a dark, windowless space, with a heavy door. In medieval Norwegian, the word for prison was *myrkvastofa*, that is, "a dark room."⁴⁴ And for that, any windowless room or vault on the ground floor of the castle would serve.

The so-called Templar of Tyre tells the gruesome story of how Guy Ibelin of Jubail was imprisoned in the castle of Nephin in 1282 together with four of his co-conspirators against their feudal lord. The prince had them “put into a ditch, and walled it up and enclosed them inside it, and they died of starvation.”⁴⁵ Hugh Kennedy was, however, unable to locate the cavern in the ruins of the castle.⁴⁶ In Saône there are remains of a prison described by Kennedy, after Paul Deschamps: “About 5 m above the bottom of the great trench, excavated into the rock, there is a prison, a windowless cavern whose roof is supported by a single pillar. Among the unfortunates confined here was Pierre de Queivilliers,”⁴⁷ a captive known from a letter of appreciation written by his son Guillaume in 1227 to the Hospitalers who had been negotiating Pierre’s release. However, he died in prison before their efforts met with success.⁴⁸ In his more recent article on Saône Jean Mesqui has located the prison in the castle.⁴⁹ However, in these examples, the purpose of these prisons was to detain captives. Except for the prison in Nephin where the aim was to kill the prisoners without actually laying hands on them because the prince had given his word not to execute them, the objective of these prisons was to keep captives alive. The room identified in the Hospitaller compound in Acre as a prison is large and windowless with places for attaching shackles (Figure 7.2). If this room was indeed the prison it was probably built for valuable captives who had to be provided minimal living conditions.⁵⁰ In the same way Usamah Ibn



Figure 7.2 Acre, Hospitaller Compound, wall with cavities for attaching shackles

Source: Photographer, Abdu Matta.

Munqidh's description of the prison at the Hospitaller fortress at Bayt Jibril (Beth Guvrin) was a pit big enough to keep two prisoners, probably located in the ditch of the fortress from which the way to escape was to dig a tunnel from outside the fosse.⁵¹ The contemporary and later Mamluk prisons for Christian captives in Cairo were not only constructed in the fortress for security but also to provide minimum conditions to enable the captors to use their prisoners as a work force.⁵²

But it is likely that a convent's prison constructed for transgressing Templar brothers differed and was located elsewhere from prisons built to keep captives or even as institutions of pretrial detention. I would nonetheless like to postulate as to where in the 'Atlit fortress the prison could have been located.

Cassidy-Welch claims that in Cistercian monasteries, which from 1206 had a mandate to build disciplinary prisons as places of punishment for erring monks, the prison was usually located in the eastern part of the monastery close to the infirmary. This was for ideological reasons, grounded in the view of sinners as sick.⁵³ But, as the infirmary of 'Atlit castle has not yet been located, this hint does not solve the puzzle.

It is perhaps tempting to locate the prison of 'Atlit in the donjon, the huge eastern tower whose remains can still be seen today from the east and together with the western tower was probably the strongest part of the fortress. That however better fits political prisoners or captives than convicted offenders among the brethren. My attempts to find traces on my two recent visits to 'Atlit failed to provide conclusive evidence. A possible candidate is the northern vault (see indicated as North hall in Figure 7.3). If however, the Templars used the nearby ancient Phoenician port, locating a prison just above it might have been problematic, as this would have facilitated escapes.⁵⁴ I hope to spark greater archaeological awareness of this component of a military order's fortress. This will perhaps lead to a more definite identification of the prison in 'Atlit.⁵⁵ The majority of the courtyard area has never been excavated so there is still hope to find new evidence in the future.

But even if I am unable to locate the central Templar prison in 'Atlit with certainty, I think that we can date the shift in the Templars' concept of how to treat transgressions of the Rule. Note that most mentions of prison as a fitting punishment occur in the part of the Rule that is called "Nouveaux détails sur la pénalité" (Further details on penances), which is usually dated between 1257 and 1267.⁵⁶ Of course, the events recounted in this part of the Rule may have happened earlier than its final recording and editing. Thus, the masters mentioned in this section of the Rule, namely Pierre de Montagu (1219–1232)⁵⁷ and Armand de Pierregort (1232–1244) point to an earlier date in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁵⁸ However, the prison in Atlit cannot have been earlier than the fortress to whose eighth centenary the conference in Haifa was dedicated. Thus, if we want to date the birth of the prison as a punitive institution, *pace* Foucault we may say that in the case of the Templars it was born c.1218, as the fortress seems to have been built in line with a premeditated programme that at that time included the need for a prison. As other prisons followed, we may safely date the invention of the prison as a punitive institution to the thirteenth century and not to the modern period.

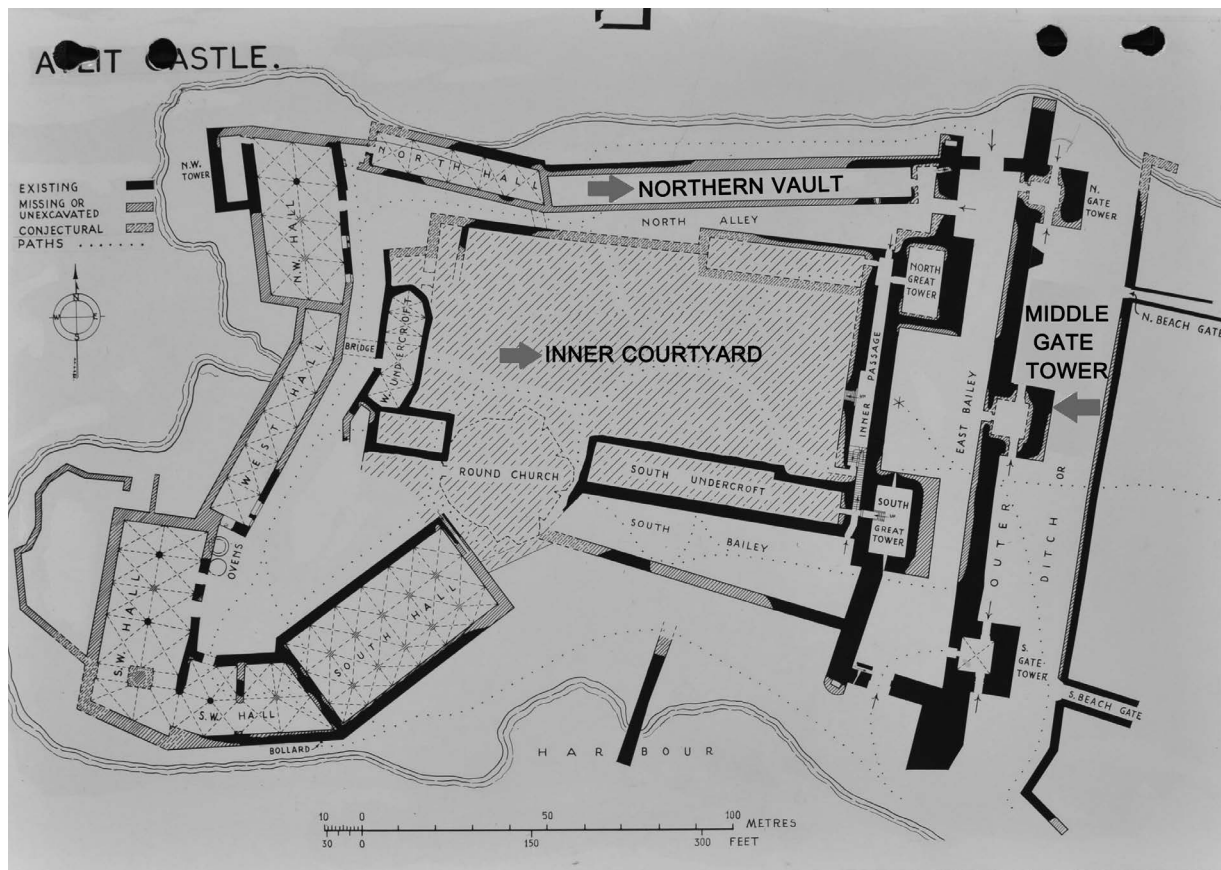


Figure 7.3 Plan of 'Atlit Castle

Source: Israel Antiquities Authority, the scientific Archive 1919–1948, 'Atlit, Castle, Scientific Record Files Collection (SRF), 17.

Notes

- 1 Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* (Paris, 1975), trans. by Alan Sheridan, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison* (New York, 1991), 105–31; citation at 231.
- 2 Guy Geltner, "Medieval Prisons: Between Myth and Reality, Hell and Purgatory," *Compass* 4 (2006): 1–11; Idem, *The Medieval Prison: A Social History* (Princeton, 2008).
- 3 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 31.
- 4 Jørn Sandnes, "Fengsel som straff i norsk middelalder," *Historisk Tidskrift* 82 (2003): 163–72.
- 5 Ralph B. Pugh, *Imprisonment in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1968), 386; Jean Dunbabin, *Captivity and Imprisonment in Medieval Europe 1000–1300* (London, 2002).
- 6 Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination, c.1150–1400* (London, 2011), 28–34.
- 7 Geltner, *The Medieval Prison*, 3.
- 8 Edward M. Peters, "Prison before the Prison: The Ancient and Medieval Worlds," in *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society*, eds. Norval Morris and David J. Rothman (New York, 1995), 3–47.
- 9 Henri de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple* (Paris, 1977), §593, pp. 308–9; §603, p. 312 (hereafter cited as de Curzon). English translation by Judi M. Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar* (Woodbridge, 1992), 154, 156.
- 10 In the Merovingian and Carolingian periods, monasteries were used by the kings as prisons for political opponents. But Mayke de Jong ("Monastic Prisoners or Opting Out? Political Coercion and Honour in the Frankish Kingdoms," in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuvs, and Carine van Rhijn [Leiden, 2001], 291–328) has shown that these monasteries should be viewed not as punitive institutions, but as asylums. For the political repercussions of penance, see also Mayke de Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009), *passim*.
- 11 E.g., de Curzon, §224–66, pp. 153–63.
- 12 E.g., de Curzon, §603, p. 312.
- 13 *The Catalan Rule of the Templars: A Critical Edition and English Translation from Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, 'Cartas reales', MS 3344*, ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Woodbridge, 2003), §179, p. 81.
- 14 For references to imprisonment and chaining in the Order see: Alan Forey, "Judicial Processes in the Military Orders: The Use of Imprisonment and Chaining," in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, eds. Karl Borchardt, Nikolas Jaspert, and Helen Nicholson (Burlington, 2007), 87–98.
- 15 J.M. Canivez, ed., *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 8 vols. (Louvain, 1933–39), anno 1206, § 4, t.1: "Qui voluerint carceres facere, faciant, ad fugitivos suos et maleficos, qui talia meruerint," *Statuta*, anno 1229, § 6, t. 2: "Statuitur ut in singulis abbatiis Ordinis, in quibus fieri poterit fortes et firmi carceres construantur, ubi ad abbatis arbitrium retrudantur et detineantur, secundum quod exegerint crimina, criminosi. Criminosos autem hic vocamus indicibili vitio laborantes, fures, incendiarios, falsarios, homicidas. Abbas vero consideret se de omnibus iudiciis suis redditurum in districto Dei iudicio rationem."
- 16 Forey, "Judicial Processes," 90.
- 17 Cassidy-Welch, *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination*, 36–41.
- 18 E.g., the sculptured capital of Saint Benedict miraculously freeing a prisoner in the church Saint Benedict sur Loire.
- 19 Forey, "Judicial Processes," 89–90.
- 20 De Curzon, §95, p. 85; §188, p. 137; *The Catalan Rule of the Templars*, §22–27, pp. 12–15.

- 21 De Curzon, §270, 271, p. 80.
- 22 Geltner, *The Medieval Prison*, 57–60.
- 23 *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond: Concerning the Acts of Samson, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Edmund*, ed. and trans. H.E. Butler (London, 1949), 118–19.
- 24 The dates covered in the chronicle are 1173 to 1202.
- 25 For a comparison with Cistercian notions of punitive spaces, see Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and Their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries* (Turnhout, 2001), 122–26.
- 26 De Curzon, §554, p. 289.
- 27 J.M. Upton-Ward, trans., *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar* (Woodbridge, 1992), 144.
- 28 Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1922), 9–12, 23–25.
- 29 De Curzon, §226, p. 153.
- 30 De Curzon, §554, p. 289; trans., p. 144: “and they were sentenced to be expelled . . . and they were put in perpetual imprisonment at Château Pélerin and died there.”
- 31 WT, 20. 29–30, 953–56; Bernard Hamilton, “The Templars, The Syrian Assassins and King Amalric of Jerusalem,” in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe*, 13–24; Peter W. Edbury, “The Old French William of Tyre, the Templars and the Assassin Envoy,” *Idem*, 25–37.
- 32 See also De Curzon, §593, pp. 308–9, an incident that occurred in Jaffa, was tried in Arsur (under the marshal Hugue de Munlo), and “the offender was put in irons and sent to Château Pélerin.”
- 33 The names are mentioned only in the Catalan version of the rule (*The Catalan Rule of the Templars*, §164, pp. 70–71).
- 34 De Curzon, §573, pp. 297–98: “si fu mors”; the Catalan version has “cujave escaper et morut” (*The Catalan Rule of the Templars*, §164, p. 70).
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 Ann E. Zimo, “Baybars, Naval Power and Mamlūk Psychological Warfare against the Franks,” *Al-Masāq* 30/3 (2018): 304–16.
- 37 Abu Shama, *Le livre des deux jardins*, *RHC Or* 4: 133.
- 38 Anat Peled, *Sugar in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Crusader Technology between East and West* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 2009), 102–3.
- 39 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 016II), <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/qt808nj0703>, fol. 170r; Richard Vaughan, *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Observations on Thirteenth-Century Life* (Cambridge, 1993), 200.
- 40 De Curzon, §603, trans., pp. 155–56.
- 41 Cassidy-Welch, *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination*, 28.
- 42 *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi: Codex Querini-Stampalia IV 3 (1064)*, eds. Oliver Berggoetz and Kieler Werkstücke. Reihe C, Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters, vol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1991), 177, lines 23–25, notes that the prison is located in the tower near the church: “Habemus unam turrim iuxta ecclesiam super mare . . . inferius est volta, ubi captive detruduntur.”
- 43 The research is undertaken by the Israel Antiquities Authority, headed by Vardit R. Shotten-Hallel.
- 44 Sandnes, “Fengsel som straff i norsk middelalder,” 163–72.
- 45 *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, *RHC*, Documents arméniens, vol. II (Paris, 1906), #410, p. 788; Paul Crawford, trans., *The ‘Templar of Tyre’: Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’* (Farnham, 2012), p. 79.
- 46 Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), 67.
- 47 Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 96.
- 48 *Cart Hosp*, 2: no. 1861; pp. 363–64, Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Leiden, 2002), 112.

- 49 Jean Mesqui, "Le château de Saône/Sahyoun," *Fortifications d'orient et d'occident Histoire et images médiévales thématique*, vol. 11 (2001): 46–55 and personal correspondence. I thank Jean Mesqui for his time and generosity.
- 50 It should be noted that there is no definite evidence for this room being a prison, it could be a treasury or arsenal. The Hospitaller Rule mentions the word prison only once till the end of the thirteenth century.
- 51 Usamah ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*, trans. Paul M. Cobb (London, 2008), 92–93. Usamah also describes Ridwan's escape from "a prison in a house near to the palace" by digging a tunnel (Idem, 41).
- 52 Julien Loiseau, "Frankish Captives in Mamlūk Cairo," *Al-Masaq* 23/1 (2011): 37–52, esp. 43–44.
- 53 Cassidy-Welch, *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination*, 28; Megan Cassidy-Welch, "Incarceration and Liberation: Prisons in the Cistercian Monastery," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 32 (2001): 23–42.
- 54 If this room was built to serve the port, the holes may be to accommodate a gallery.
- 55 I thank Jean Mesqui and Vardit R. Shotten-Hallel for bearing with my queries and impatient probing for prisons, and Vardit for enabling and accompanying my visits to the fortress that is usually closed to the public and for her suggestions.
- 56 Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 16.
- 57 De Curzon §552, pp. 288–89, §620, p. 321. For his dates see Jochen Burgdorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)* (Leiden, 2008), 122, 205–6.
- 58 De Curzon §545–47, pp. 285–87; Burgdorf, *Central Convent*, 125, 206.

8 The medieval cemetery of ‘Atlit

Historiography and new archaeological data (2014–2019)

Yves Gleize

Introduction: a cemetery near the Pilgrim Castle (*Chastel Pelerin*)

Cemeteries are peculiar spaces, devoted to gathering the dead and involving the organisation of social groups.¹ They constituted memory spaces for many medieval societies and may thus be considered as markers of social and religious groups within specific territories.² These spaces for the dead evolved according to both socio-cultural representations and the choices (e.g., location, internal organisation) of the medieval populations. For the archaeologist and the historian these significant spaces for medieval societies³ are thus important sources; and in order to understand them, it is necessary to study their location, their organisation, and their continuity over time. However, the funerary practices and their archaeological remains often leave only partial traces of the rituals that took place and were themselves only a distorted echo of social choices and realities.⁴ The funerary remains thus require a discussion that combines social, cultural, and religious practices. If a study of the connections between a cultural group and its dead is to provide knowledge of a society, then any archaeological analysis of funerary practices and of the use of cemeteries must proceed with caution and necessarily contextualise the discoveries.

For the Latin East, archaeological data from graveyards are both rare and not precise enough to enable a detailed analysis of the funerary practices and the cemeteries, in part due to a lack of excavations at well-preserved sites. In this context, studies of human remains have not been used to analyse the organisation of these cemeteries.⁵ Therefore, in ‘Atlit, the presence of a large, well-preserved cemetery situated 200 m beyond the eastern ramparts of the town where *Chastel Pelerin* is located (Figure 8.1), offers an excellent opportunity to provide new archaeological data on the funerary practices of this period in the Latin East. Discovered in the 1930s,⁶ the cemetery was only summarily excavated during the period of the British Mandate. The funerary practices and the identity of the dead remain to be uncovered. However, the proper continuation of research at this site first necessitates an understanding of the results of the excavations carried out under the British Mandate. In 2014, a multidisciplinary team started an overall study of the site incorporating an analysis of the earlier excavation archive, a survey, and archaeological soundings. The new excavations, still in progress, are already

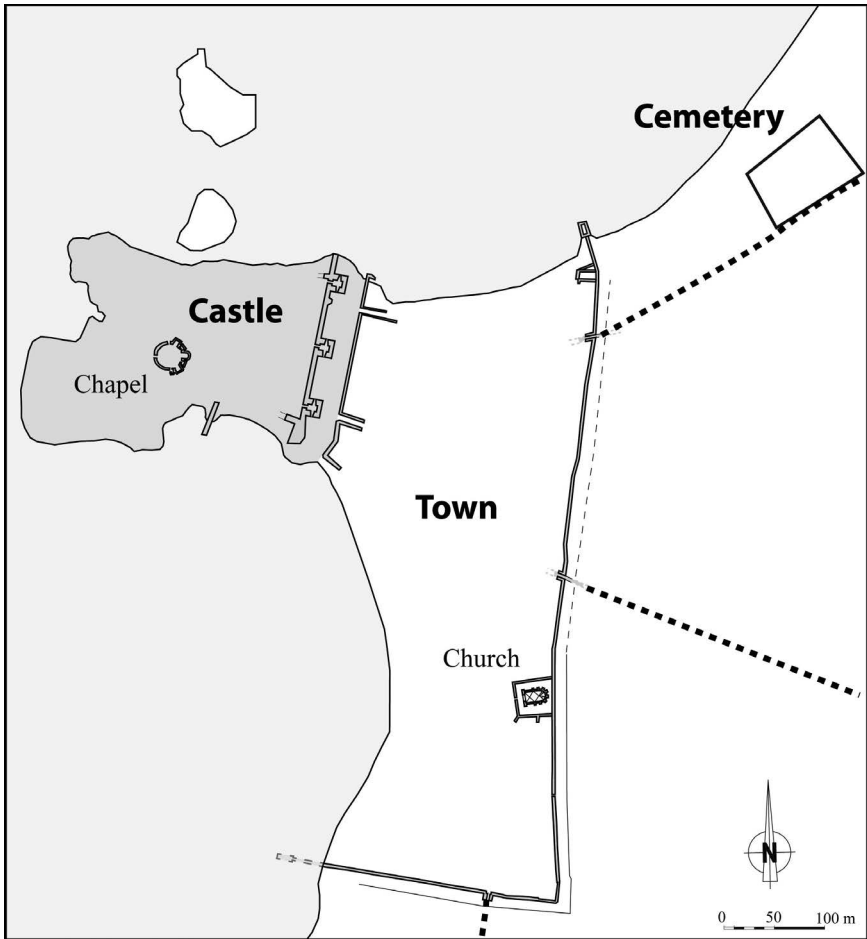


Figure 8.1 Localisation of the cemetery ('Atlit cemetery archaeological mission)

providing new data on the funerary practices, the identity of the dead, and the organisation of the cemetery.

Historiography and the British excavations

The cemetery outside the town was uncovered by C.N. Johns, in 1934, prior to which few details on the funerary site were known. The rare medieval textual sources on *Chastel Pelerin* do not provide any data on this large cemetery. Various travellers visited the castle during the nineteenth century, but their memoirs do not mention the presence of medieval gravestones in the surroundings of the castle. The British Mandate Department of Antiquities was nonetheless already aware in 1933 of the presence of "Crusaders' tombs" north of the castle.⁷ Due to the project

of construction of a “box factory” and a “sawmill” on the shoreline, C.N. Johns, on behalf of the Department of Antiquities, led an excavation to delineate the borders of the cemetery.

The surface excavation – carried out between April and July 1934 – uncovered numerous preserved gravestones (slabs and boulder-built markers), several burials without any surface markers, and the boundary wall of the cemetery. The graves were located in a quadrangular area (80 x 100 m), oriented north-east-south-west. According to Johns, the surface excavation of the cemetery enabled the identification in 1934 of more than 1,700 graves, and Johns noted that “the total number of burials must be greater.”⁸ A detailed count of visible graves from an aerial photograph taken in July 1934 reveals more than 1950 grave markers (Figure 8.2).⁹

Johns wrote only a few pages on the cemetery excavation in his “Guide to ‘Atlit’” and the major part of his data has remained unpublished.¹⁰ Although an important

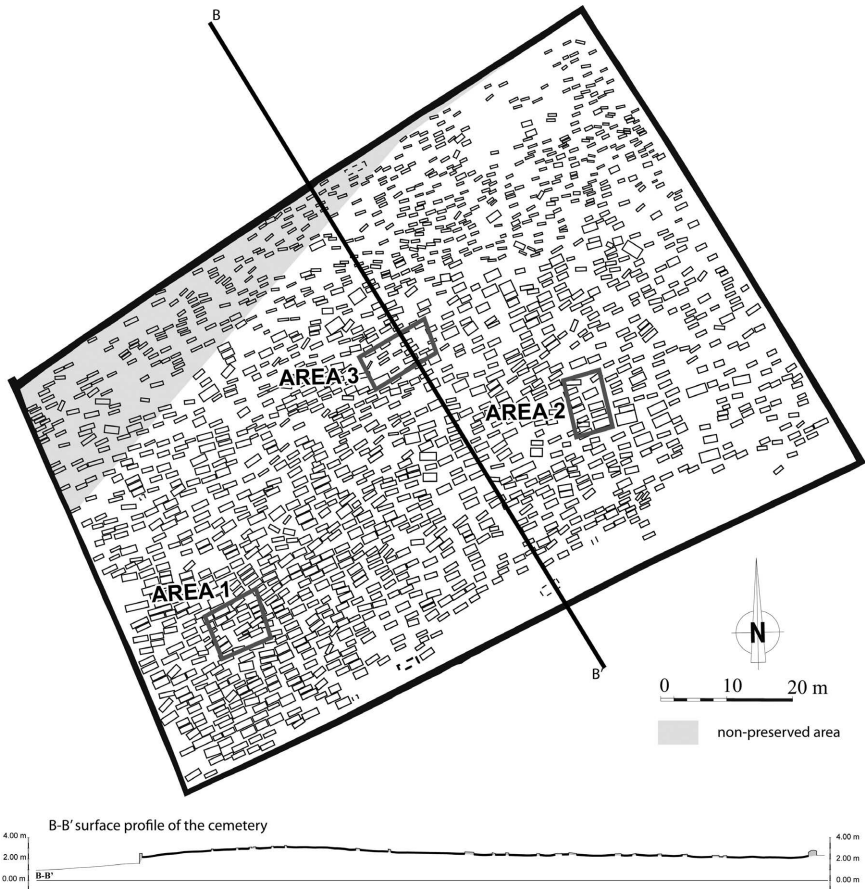


Figure 8.2 Plan and profile of the cemetery with the location of excavation areas and profile (*‘Atlit cemetery archaeological mission*)

part of the excavation documentation has since been lost, a set of photographs, notes written by Johns, and a 19-page notebook written by H.E. Bird, Johns' assistant, still exist in the archives of the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem and the Palestine Exploration Fund in London. However, these archives provide only a biased viewpoint of the excavation and of the medieval cemetery. In her PhD dissertation, Thompson concluded that it was impossible to study the cemetery in the absence of any new excavations.¹¹

The graveyard is currently gradually deteriorating due to its closeness to the sea and the lack of conservation and maintenance. Consequently, it became urgent to perform an extensive analysis of the site, which presents a unique opportunity to study the internal organisation of a cemetery in the Latin East in the thirteenth century. In 2014, a new survey revealed the large variability in the visible grave markers and that a part of the cemetery had become completely deteriorated in the period following 1934.¹² One of the most interesting features of the cemetery at 'Atlit is the preservation of the surface markers, which is uncommon for medieval Christian cemeteries even in western Europe.¹³ The good state of preservation is probably due to the relatively short period of cemetery use and the absence of later construction at the site. Sand transported from the beach and the back-shore by aeolian processes has covered and protected the medieval cemetery. Its preservation thus presents the ideal conditions for a new study, especially as new archaeological research has been ongoing at the site since 2015.¹⁴ In preserved parts of the cemetery, three archaeological soundings now provide precise data on the funerary rituals (Figure 8.2). The practical application in the field of archaeo-thanatological methods has allowed us to identify the types of burial, the position of the bodies, and the practices linked to the use of the funeral spaces.¹⁵

The material in the 1934 archive and the observations of more recent plaster and mortar on several structures provide evidence of different restorations during and after the British Mandate excavation. The enclosure wall has also been totally rebuilt and some of the gravestones have been restored. In the southern part of the cemetery (Areas 1 and 2), several gravestones had been removed or covered with recent plaster; while major restoration had taken place in the western part of the site, where the grave markers have been completely rebuilt (e.g., Area 3). Consequently, not all the elements can be considered as belonging to thirteenth-century funerary practices. Our understanding of the British transformations is still not complete and it is clear that the current surface appearance of the cemetery differs from its medieval appearance.

A cemetery outside the city

The medieval cemetery of 'Atlit is located outside of the walls encircling the *Chastel Pelerin* and its *burgus*¹⁶ and facing a road leading to the north-eastern gate (Figure 8.1). While no church was present within or near the cemetery, there were both a chapel and a church inside the walls of the town. The excavation around the latter church revealed a dozen burials within a small enclosed cemetery.¹⁷ A west-east oriented burial was also excavated in the church. Most of the medieval graves,

however, were in the cemetery beyond the walls. Without a church, this extramural cemetery differs *a priori* from the usual medieval Christian funerary spaces, which generally were associated spatially to a church, particularly after the twelfth century.¹⁸ However, in the Latin East there are several examples of cemeteries located outside the city walls and far from any religious buildings, such as in Jerusalem, Caesarea, Tiberias, and Acre.¹⁹ In 'Atlit, the small intramural cemetery might have been established in the thirteenth century after the construction of the church.²⁰ However, the *extra muros* cemetery too was mainly used during the thirteenth century.²¹ Rare coins discovered in the latter cemetery are dated to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.²² Similarly, some of the ceramic sherds found in the fill of the graves are also dated to the thirteenth century and there is no current evidence of twelfth-century graves in the cemetery.²³ These two different burial places might correspond to a social distinction. Nevertheless, such archaeological data need to be interpreted with caution or clarified, for example in Jerusalem, pilgrims and Frankish nobles were buried beyond the walls, but not necessarily in the same funerary plots.²⁴ In any case, the hypothesis of a social selection for burial seems plausible because the dimensions of the small cemetery are insufficient to hold all the dead from the city. As no church or chapel seems to have existed near the large cemetery, the first part of the funeral may have taken place in the city itself. Funeral processions could thus have left the north gate of the city and accessed the cemetery via the coastal road. C.N. Johns observed the remains of several roads. If one of these was more recent than the cemetery, another, associated with water drainage bridges, may be contemporary to the graveyard and have led to the castle.²⁵ This latter road ran along the south-eastern side of the cemetery, where no entrance currently exists. However, it is not certain that a continuous wall was present on the south-eastern side of the cemetery during the Middle Ages.

The cemetery was built upon a thick stratum of sand above a geological formation of *kurkar*.²⁶ The topographical records provide evidence that the surface level of the north-western part of the cemetery is higher than in the south-eastern part (Figure 8.2). Overall, there is a general slope towards the road. The shallow depth of some graves and the artificial tomb markers created after the British excavation in Area 3 testify to a major erosion of the western part of the cemetery, which was higher during the Middle Ages.²⁷ The burial ground was partly constructed on a dune rather than on a completely flat surface, which must have constrained its organisation. Moreover, the cemetery does not seem to have been originally enclosed by the large enclosure because one of the latter's walls destroyed at least one medieval tomb. The organisation and external appearance of the cemetery thus underwent change during the Middle Ages. If the topography of the extramural cemetery differentiated the dead from those buried in the city, one must question whether this vast cemetery was a homogeneous area and, therefore, whether distinctions were or were not made in the funeral practices within this space.

Initial data on funerary practices

The development of archaeoethanatology methods²⁸ has led to new data on funerary practices, such as the typology of graves and the manipulation of bones in

secondary position.²⁹ Consequently, the excavations of different areas in the 'Atlit cemetery, rather than attempting to uncover a significant number of graves, are seeking to understand the funerary practices and the stratigraphic relations among the burials.

For the majority of the excavated graves, the analysis reveals that each body was directly buried in a pit enclosed by a wooden cover.³⁰ The cover was originally placed on steps or benches dug into the burial pit walls (Figure 8.3) or, less frequently, it was placed on vertical wooden sideboards. To date, only one wooden nailed coffin and one stone cist have been discovered. All the excavated graves contained both the skeleton of an individual in a primary position and human bones in a secondary position. Only one grave contained two skeletons in a primary position and, contrary to Johns' statements, no "mass grave" can be identified from the British archive or the recent excavations.³¹ A large majority of the primary skeletons were placed on their back with their lower limbs in extension; most of them had their upper limbs bent with their hands crossed over the chest (Figure 8.3). Bodies were rarely buried with accessories such as items of clothing or simple adornment (hairpin, mother-of-pearl cross pendant, buttons, ring, etc.). One pilgrim's staff, of which only the metal end remains, was present in grave S2SP1.³² The fill of the graves also contained some scattered ceramic sherds and, less frequently, iron nails. After the funeral, the burial pit was filled in with the surrounding sediment.

The 1934 excavation archive refers to the existence of unbroken vases in the cemetery, but without a precise field recording it is difficult to consider them as true funerary deposits. Johns suggested that they were "doubtless the bowls used for flowers."³³ However, the majority of ceramic finds are cooking ware and glazed tableware,³⁴ and originally associated with the preparation and presentation of meals. Moreover, Johns' suggestion is not confirmed by the medieval sources on cemeteries.³⁵ It is necessary, nevertheless, to question the origin of certain thirteenth-century ceramic sherds discovered in the burial pit fills: do they testify to particular practices carried out around the tombs? During the two last excavation campaigns, ceramic bowls were discovered in some of the graves from Area 1. An analysis of the position of certain of these vases may indicate that they were originally placed on the wooden cover and that they fell when it collapsed. These discoveries suggest another hypothesis regarding the ceramic sherds scattered in the fill of the graves: they may indeed be remains related to the funeral. No complete bowl has ever been found in the graves,³⁶ which might indicate the voluntary breaking of the ceramic items used during a funeral.³⁷ Given the multiple overlapping pits, these sherds could have been mixed together during the use of the cemetery. Ceramic deposits (mainly open forms, such as bowls) have also been found in several thirteenth-century Christian cemeteries in Greece, Crete, and Cyprus.³⁸ Because in 'Atlit the ceramics seem to have been discarded into the burial pits and are often broken, this would tend to suggest that these might not have been offerings, but in use around the tomb during the funeral, perhaps for meals.³⁹ Ceramic vases of the same period have also been found in some Christian graves in western Europe, but their types and functions are different (pots, pitchers used for liquids, and incense).⁴⁰

In the 'Atlit medieval cemetery several graves have overlapped or been destroyed by newer burials. In these disturbed graves, the earlier human remains



Figure 8.3 Burial S1SP29. In the north, one stone and a long bone lie on a bench remain.
They may be originally on the wood cover

Source: Y. Gleize.

were repositioned on the wooden cover or on the pit benches, but also mixed with the fill sediment in the burial pit (Figure 8.3). Even if the shifted bones seem generally unorganised, they nonetheless demonstrate that people had desired to place the disturbed bones back into the cemetery earth. In a few cases, specific actions could be identified: a skull on the cover just above the head of the new buried individual (S2SP9 and S2SP8), and long bones placed in bundles on and along the walls of a wooden coffin (S2SP15).

After being covered, the pits were filled in with the surrounding sediment and then marked individually at the surface of the graveyard. One of the main interests of the 'Atlit cemetery relates to the visibility of the graves, because several surface markers have been preserved. About ten preserved decorations (cross, shield, masonry tools) without inscriptions have been observed on grave slabs in the cemetery.⁴¹ While these decorations show a clear desire to monumentalise certain graves and ensure their singularity, the majority of graves might originally have been covered with white plaster, as attested to by the presence of plaster remains at the bottom edge of numerous grave markers.

No path appears visible within the 'Atlit cemetery and the preserved surface markers are not evenly distributed (Figure 8.2). The graves are not all oriented east-west, although this is the predominant orientation in western medieval Christian graveyards. The orientations are diverse in direction, from south-west/north-east to south-southwest/north-northeast. The orientation north-east/south-east would have been conditioned by the coastal road, which, along the southern part of the cemetery, leads to the castle from the north. If the tombs seem to follow the coastline, they are also oriented towards the castle where the chapel and the church were located (Figure 8.1). Was this orientation of the graves due to the 'attraction' of the holy places that these buildings represented, or to the relics held inside them?

The differences in the typologies and orientations of the graves question the organisation and development of the cemetery. The possibility of two distinct periods of its use has been proposed.⁴² However, the main observed distinction results from the British restoration of grave markers throughout the western part of the cemetery. If destruction and distortion due to the British restorations are ruled out, the most monumental graves are in the north-eastern part of the cemetery and the densest concentration of graves in the south-east. It should therefore be interesting to compare these two different parts of the cemetery.

A comparison between Areas 1 and 2

The excavated Areas 1 and 2 are located in the two aforementioned distinct parts of the cemetery (Figure 8.2). Different funerary practices would appear to have been observed in the two areas. On the surface, the density of grave markers in Area 1 is higher than in Area 2 and, contrary to what might have been thought,⁴³ the number of burial pits, of overlapping and of bones in secondary position is also proportionally greater in Area 1. More burials thus took place in Area 1 than in Area 2. In addition, Area 1 contains significantly more ceramic sherds than Area 2 for an equivalent extent of excavated surface. The only almost complete

vases also come from Area 1. Finally, Area 1 is the only excavated area where items of clothing and ornaments have been found.

The biological data also differentiate between the two areas. In Area 2, where the larger and less densely distributed grave markers are visible, almost all the deceased adults are male. This might have been a privileged area for male subjects of high social status who, in the context of the *Chastel Pelerin*, could well have been Templars. It is also possible that some Templars were buried in the town, although, there is no current evidence to suggest that Templars were buried in the chapel.⁴⁴ It is also interesting to note that the north-eastern part of the cemetery, with the largest gravestones, was the first section of the cemetery to be seen by people coming from Acre to *Chastel Pelerin*. It is possible that there was a desire to emphasise this section, which may have been used to distinguish the presence of a specific social group.

Even if the graves in Area 1 contained more medieval ceramic finds, one should be cautious in attempting to see between these two small excavated areas only a population difference: for example between Latin and Orthodox Christians or between European knights and local people. The use of ceramic vases in medieval cemeteries in Cyprus and Greece has not yet been well studied and we do not know whether there were differences in use according to social status or biological factors (e.g., sex or age at death). Moreover, in Area 2, medieval ceramics are not completely absent, albeit found mostly in the oldest tombs. Whether the two areas reflect a social or a cultural difference or something more complex remains an open question. There may also have been a spatial development of the north-eastern part of the cemetery. Nevertheless, the initial findings indicate that the use of the cemetery was not homogeneous in respect to the status of the deceased and that it may have varied over time.

The identities of the dead

No archaeological evidence to date indicates that the place was used as a cemetery before 1218 upon construction of the castle. Although the graveyard seems to have been used over only a short period (around 80 years), the three small excavated areas provide evidence of intensive use of the funerary spaces, with the reuse of grave locations. The significant number of overlapping graves and bones found in a secondary position inside the graves testifies to a considerable density of burials in different parts of the cemetery. The observations suggest that the total number of graves in the cemetery exceeded that of the 1,700 estimated by C.N. Johns in 1934. Several thousand burials were probably concentrated in this funerary space over a period of about 80 years. However, these several thousand individuals (encompassing men, women, and children of all ages) might not all have come only from the settlement near the castle.

The crusader context could perhaps explain the vast number of dead in the cemetery. In the recently excavated graves in 'Atlit, several cut marks on bones, resulting from blows, are clearly visible on different adult individuals, including at least one woman (S1SP8) (Figure 8.4). They testify to physical violence.⁴⁵

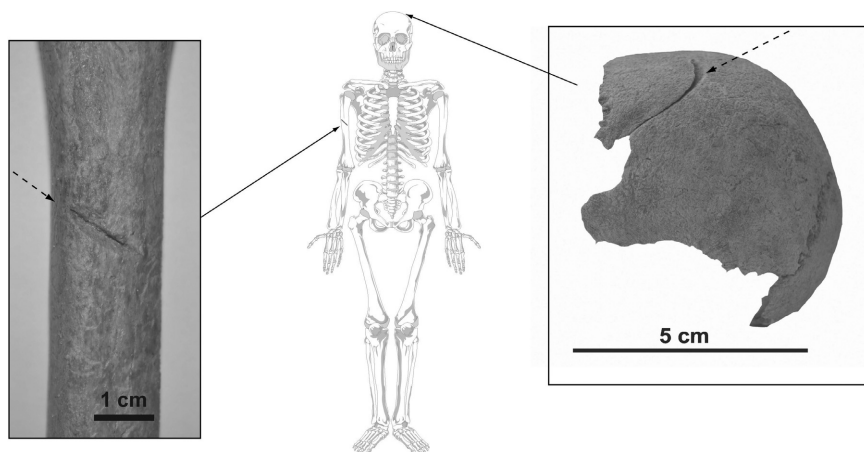


Figure 8.4 Trauma marks on the primary skeleton of the burial S1SP08

Source: Y. Gleize.

Chastel Pelerin was attacked several times.⁴⁶ In the third quarter of the thirteenth century, Baybars' army twice attacked the surroundings of the castle and sacked the *burgus*.⁴⁷ However, the individual character of the burials in the cemetery and the absence of mass graves, such as in Sidon,⁴⁸ do not suggest that the majority of burials were the results of acts of war.

The modes of burial observed in the cemetery of 'Atlit are similar to other medieval Christian burials and several crosses were found engraved on horizontal grave-stones as well as erected crosses.⁴⁹ Were the deceased, however, all Latin Christians? *Chastel Pelerin* controlled several inland villages.⁵⁰ Although other Christian cemeteries existed in the area,⁵¹ the *Chastel Pelerin* might have been an attractive centre for certain populations. The growing insecurity may have led Christians in the hinterland to wish to be buried near the fortified sites of the coast and at religious sites with an important power of attraction for Christians, where funerary ceremonies and commemoration of their dead would be safer.⁵² This hypothesis receives support from the presence in *Chastel Pelerin* of the relics of Saint Euphemia of Chalcedon, venerated by both the Catholic and Orthodox Churches.⁵³ It also seems possible that the castle chapel was designed as a replica of the Holy Sepulchre.⁵⁴ The castle seems too to be linked to a place of Marian worship.⁵⁵ The control of the relics and the creation of a new pilgrimage shrine in 'Atlit might have reinforced the power of the Templar knights over the pilgrims in the surroundings territories.⁵⁶ Several mother-of-pearl cross pendants discovered in the *burgus* and the cemetery, whose identical models have also been found in Eastern Europe, are considered to be souvenirs of pilgrimage from the Holy Land and could have been produced in 'Atlit.⁵⁷ The very name of *Castrum Perigrinorum* (Pilgrims Castle) refers to the reception of pilgrims and some of them could have been buried in the cemetery. It

was perhaps the memory of his status of pilgrim or his pilgrimage or that made an old man (S2SP1) desire to be buried with his hands joined in prayer and a pilgrim's staff.⁵⁸ The variety of those buried in the cemetery does not correspond to a homogeneous population and is certainly much more complex. It would seem that people from the castle, from the inland villages and also from much further away were all buried in this cemetery. Indeed, as shown, there are several interesting clues that indicate the importance of this collective funerary space.

Conclusions and perspectives

The medieval cemetery of 'Atlit is currently the best-preserved known graveyard in the Latin East.⁵⁹ The site has been only superficially analysed and the funeral practices and identities of the buried population are almost unknown. This funerary space is complex and – like other typical medieval Christian cemeteries – it consists of deeply stratified, intersecting burials. The current excavations cover only a very small part (not more than one per cent of the surface), but the location of the excavation areas, the research in the archives and the topography of the entire site allow us to present new data on the use and organisation of the cemetery. The archaeological findings are still being studied and the excavation of Areas 1 and 2 remains to be completed. The analysis of bones also offers new data on biological factors pertaining to the dead and indicates instances of physical interpersonal violence. These preliminary results also differentiate the use of different areas in the cemetery and attest that the previously suggested number of about 1,950 burials has been largely underestimated. Although only a limited number of graves have been excavated to date, these new data contribute to our knowledge on the organisation of the cemetery and on the funerary practices in the thirteenth-century Latin East.

Initial genetic tests on some of the remains have indicated that the ancient DNA is too poorly preserved in the teeth, but sufficiently preserved in the inner ear part of the petrous bones. The cross-referencing of palaeogenetic data with funerary data will contribute to our understanding of the origins of the dead in this cemetery. Genetic analysis will facilitate the recognition of haplogroups, some of which are more common in the Near East.⁶⁰ The isotopic study will allow us to determine whether the dead buried in 'Atlit are native (e.g., indigenous Christians, pullans) or not from this part of the Mediterranean (e.g., pilgrims, crusaders, traders).⁶¹ The geographical origin, through the analysis of anthropological samples, will further contribute to understanding the identity of the dead. Taken together, however, these data can only be fully understood by taking into account the precise location of the deceased in the cemetery and the particular funeral practices that applied to them.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to the editors for their invitation (especially Vardit R. Shotten-Hallel), to the French Research Center in Jerusalem (CRFJ), to the French Foreign

Office (MEAE), to the laboratory UMR5199 from the University of Bordeaux, to the French Institute of Preventive Archaeology (Inrap) and to the MSHA. He is grateful to all the team members of the 'Atlit cemetery archaeological mission. He thanks Naomi Paz for editing and proofreading the manuscript.

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- 50 At least five villages were noted in 1268 and 16 “cantons” in 1283. Peter M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybar and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1995), 69–71 and 87. Rabei Khamisy, “The Unratified Treaty between the Mamlūks and the Franks of Acre in 1268,” *al-Masāq* 26–22 (2014): 147–67.
- 51 Johns, ed. Pringle, 1997; IAA Mandatory Archives, *Kh. Maliha et Esh-Sheukh Bureik*, SRF_135, picture 13.003. Gleize *et al.*, “Le cimetière d’Atlit,” 192.
- 52 Tomasz Borowski and Christopher Gerrard, “Constructing Identity in the Middle Ages: Relics, Religiosity, and the Military Orders,” *Speculum* 92–94 (2017): 1056–100.
- 53 Johns, ed. Pringle, 1997, 55; Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae templi hierosolymitani magistri* (Goettingen, 1974), 167. Sabino De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII–XIII)*, vol. 4 (Jerusalem, 1978–1984): 58. Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), 199. Folda, “Crusader Art,” 133–34. Gleize *et al.*, “Le cimetière d’Atlit,” 190.
- 54 Vardit R. Shotten-Hallel, “An Image of the Holy City in the Holy Land,” *Material Religion* (forthcoming).
- 55 Philippe de Savona, *Philippi Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, éd. W.A. Neumann (Vienne, 1872), vol. 3, p. 76.
- 56 Johns, ed. Pringle, 1997, 16. Borowski and Gerrard, “Constructing Identity.”
- 57 Johns, ed. Pringle, 1997, 137, 149. Roberts Spirgīs, “Finds in Latvia of 13th-century Pilgrims’ Crosses from the Holy Land,” *Journal of Historical Archaeology & Anthropological Sciences* 3 (2018): 494–499. For example, two medieval mother-of-pearl cross pendants were found in or near the pilgrim hostel at Petra. Brigitte Pitarakis, “Crosses,” in *Petra: The Mountain of Aaron*, vol. II: *The Nabatean Cultic Center and the Byzantine Monastery*, eds. Zbigniew T. Fiema, Jaakko Frösen, and Maija Holappa (Helsinki, 2016), 404–9. It is also interesting to note that pectoral cross pendants in middle and late Byzantine world were a Christian symbol, but they might also be considered as a protection for young children. Sam Cleymans and Peter Talloen, “Protection in Life and Death: Crosses from the Cemetery Klarios at Sagalassos, Turkey,” *European Journal of Archaeology* 21 (2018): 280–98.
- 58 Gleize and Dorso, “Atlit.”
- 59 Boas, “Crusader Archaeology,” 236. Adrian J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders* (London, 2006), 37.
- 60 A haplogroup is a combination of genes that tend to be inherited together. The Y-chromosome and MtDNA haplogroups are often geographically oriented and can be used to trace human migrations. Peter Underhill and Toomas Kivisild, “Use of Y Chromosome and Mitochondrial DNA Population Structure in Tracing Human Migrations,” *Annual Review of Genetics* 41 (2007): 539–64. For the Latin East, see Marc Haber, Claude Doumet-Serhal, Christiana Scheib, Yali Xue, Richard Mikulski, Rui Martiniano, Bettina Fischer-Genz, Holger Schutkowski, Toomas Kivisild, and Chris Tyler-Smith, “A Transient Pulse of Genetic Admixture from the Crusaders in the Near East Identified from Ancient Genome Sequences,” *The American Journal of Human Genetics*, 104 (2019): 1–8.
- 61 Isotopic analyses in a Latin East context are still scarce. Piers D. Mitchell and Andrew R. Millard, “Migration to the Medieval Middle East with the Crusades,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 140 (2009): 518–25. Piers D. Mitchell and Andrew R. Millard, “Approaches to the Study of Migration during the Crusades,” *Crusades* 12 (2013): 1–12. Mikulski, *The Contextualisation*, 187–91.

Part 3

Cyprus under the Lusignans



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9 Towards a history of thirteenth-century Gothic in the Latin East

Michalis Olympios

In his essay in the volume entitled *Le siècle de saint Louis*, published in 1970 on the occasion of the seventh centenary of the death of King Louis IX of France (reg. 1226–1270), Paul Deschamps treated the topic of the dissemination of French art outside the borders of the Capetian kingdom. He suggested that, at the time of Louis' reign, French artists travelled widely, bringing their mastery of their respective media to bear on the flowering of the distinct regional strands of the Gothic style then emerging all around Europe and the eastern Mediterranean. This extraordinary diffusion of the Gothic from one end of Latin Christendom to the other was predicated, according to Deschamps, on the mystical flame of the Christian faith that burned unwavering and bright on French soil throughout Louis' reign, hailed as France's undisputed "golden age." The French *savant* even went as far as to claim that Louis IX's larger-than-life role in upholding the true faith meant that the failure of his Tunis crusade in 1270 irreversibly sealed the fate of Frankish settlements in the Levant, which were obliterated by the Mamluks by the end of the century.¹

Deschamps' moving paean of quasi-exclusive French cultural supremacy over thirteenth-century Europe and the Mediterranean would now be seen as a relatively belated manifestation of the nationalist and colonialist discourse practised by nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century authors, such as Charles-Jean-Melchior de Vogüé, Charles Diehl, and Camille Enlart; indeed, his text would appear to be a lightly reworked version of a paper presented at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in the 1940s.² The catalogue of a major exhibition held in 2014–2015 at the Conciergerie in Paris to commemorate the eighth centenary of the birth of Louis IX shows how far scholarship has come in the intervening decades: not only does it not contain an essay outlining the impact of thirteenth-century Parisian courtly arts on the European artistic scene, but also the contributions by Jean Mesqui and Pierre-Yves Le Pogam emphasise the fruitful interchange between Gothic, Byzantine, and Islamic art, and its significance for Louis IX's own artistic patronage.³ Furthermore, even though Louis' biographers and hagiographers explicitly state that, while in the East, the king took in hand the reinforcement of the fortifications of the coastal cities of Caesarea, Sidon, Jaffa, and Acre, the catalytic role envisaged for him by some modern scholars in revitalising Gothic architecture in the Latin East has been relativised by Nicola Coldstream, Jaroslav Folda, and Nicolas Prouteau.⁴

Moving beyond a rigidly Francocentric outlook, contemporary scholarship has embraced a larger view of thirteenth-century Gothic architecture in the Latin East, corresponding to the extreme diversity within the field as it developed across a broad geographical and cultural spectrum, encompassing modern Israel, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Turkey, Cyprus, and Greece. Cathedral, monastic and parish churches, and chapels (at least partly) designed after northern European models formed only part of the period's architectural production in this region. In places like Venetian Crete and the principality of Achaia (Peloponnese), thirteenth-century Gothic is largely represented by the voluminous yet self-consciously austere churches of the mendicant orders, the architecture of which drew inspiration from central Italian buildings of explicit Franciscan or Dominican pedigree. Moreover, all of these and other edifices of this kind display a greater or lesser degree of adaptation to local climate, materials, and building traditions, accounting for the involvement of an inevitable topical component in the design and execution of such Gothic structures. By unfolding along these lines, modern research has essentially challenged the hitherto dominant centre-periphery paradigm, undermining the monolithic nature of cultural contact between France as a benevolent civilising power and its "colonies" in the East as constantly being at the receiving end of French cultural munificence.⁵

Employing the current state of research as a springboard for further contemplation, the present chapter will seek to address certain broad historiographical questions about the development of Gothic architecture in the Levantine crusader states and Lusignan Cyprus in the "long" thirteenth century. It will focus on the choice of design models enacted by master masons and their patrons in the region and the plausible reasons that might have led to it; it will attempt to correlate developments in the East with contemporary phenomena in western Europe; and it will lay particular stress on instances of architectural cross-fertilisation among different areas of the Latin East. The ultimate goal of this inquiry will be to offer some thoughts on the state of the question and propose avenues for more in-depth future research.

In the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, individual architectural elements that eventually became staples of what is now known as the Gothic style put in appearances as early as the 1140s, when the transepts and choir of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem were furnished with quadripartite rib vaulting. In his recent survey of Romanesque architecture, Eric Fernie acknowledged the links traditionally relating the crusader rebuilding and restructuring of the architectural receptacle of Christ's tomb with Burgundian models, while Christian Freigang has argued that, more specifically, the twin columns in the ambulatory of the church's chevet could well be related to similar supports in the east end of Sens Cathedral (begun in c.1140).⁶ Twin columns alternated with compound piers to carry sexpartite rib vaults over the nave of the Cathedral of Sebaste in the 1170s, an arrangement that recalls even more vividly the elevation of the central vessel at the Burgundian cathedral.⁷ Coeval with the celebrated chevet of the abbey church of Saint-Denis near Paris, Sens Cathedral belonged to the first generation of northern French Gothic edifices; moreover, it served a powerful and prestigious

institution, the suffragans of which included the bishop of Paris up until the seventeenth century.⁸ If Freigang's hypothesis for Sénonais influence at the Holy Sepulchre holds true, then the exceptional status of the archiepiscopal see of Sens may have furnished an apposite (albeit not exclusive) model for the seat of the patriarch of Jerusalem. In the much clearer case of Sebaste, Nurith Kenaan-Kedar has convincingly demonstrated that the Sens-derived inflections having shaped the Levantine cathedral in the 1170s were the result of generous patronage on the part of Archbishop William of Sens and his relatives, especially Henry I the Liberal, Count of Champagne, and his brother-in-law, King Louis VII. It should be recalled here that the counts of Champagne were vassals of the archbishops of Sens for part of their estates, and that Count Henry I in particular had founded a good number of collegiate churches in his lands, the most important of which, Saint-Étienne at Troyes and Saint-Quiriace at Provins, the palatine churches of the counts in Champagne and Brie respectively, exhibited clear architectural debts to Sens Cathedral.⁹ In other words, the relative success that the design of Sens seems to have enjoyed in the Latin Kingdom during the latter half of the twelfth century may be ascribed to two main factors: considerations of hierarchical status and the established patronage habits of western *maecenae*.

The erection of the east end of the Latin cathedral of Saint Sophia in Nicosia in the first third of the thirteenth century appears to reside at the confluence of these two factors (Figure 9.1).¹⁰ In the wake of the foundation of the Latin Church of Cyprus in 1196, the foundation stone for the capital's archiepiscopal cathedral was laid in 1209, and by 1228 everything to the east of the choir screen seems to have been completed. Despite certain concessions to local conditions (such as the eventual absence of a timber roof, which nevertheless may have been initially planned), French Early Gothic was imported here as a coherent stylistic system, possibly branding Nicosia Cathedral as the first "truly Gothic" building in the Latin East. The plan with ambulatory and two low-vaulted lateral chapels, together with aspects of the elevation (such as the twin-lancet windows in the straight bays of the clerestory) definitely hark back to the, by then, decades-old design of Sens Cathedral. By the early thirteenth century, the Burgundian mother church had served as a prime prototype for other top-of-the-tier archiepiscopal cathedrals, such as those of Canterbury (from 1174) and Bourges (by 1195), an occurrence that led Yves Gallet to argue for a distinct "archiepiscopal" strand of cathedral architecture, which valued adherence to prestigious older buildings over more recent, and presumably more fashionable, solutions.¹¹

Moreover, the choice of Sens as model may not have been made solely on the basis of the Nicosia archbishop and clergy's wish for a decorous building commensurate with their elevated status. The detailing of the Nicosia chevet, which features such region-specific motifs as the so-called "Burgundian cornice" adorning the top of the exterior walls of the chevet and lateral chapels, betrays the involvement of masons from north-eastern France. These craftsmen may have been summoned to the Cypriot capital from the ancestral lands of Queen Alice, daughter of Count Henry II of Champagne and King-consort of Jerusalem, who came of age and was wedded to Hugh I of Cyprus at about the time the chevet of



Figure 9.1 Nicosia, Selimiye Mosque (former Latin Cathedral of Saint Sophia), chevet, general view of ambulatory exterior

Source: Author.

Nicosia Cathedral was founded. Together with her younger sister, Philippa, Alice was expected to lay claim to her inheritance in France, jeopardising the rights of the future Count Theobald IV, son of Henry II from his marriage to Blanche of Navarre. After a long and heated argument between Blanche, Theobald, and their allies, on one side, and Alice on the other, the latter eventually renounced most of her rights on the county. Nevertheless, when Alice most likely first set her sights on her father's lands in the West, in the late 1200s, constructing the kingdom's single most important ecclesiastical edifice in a style congruent with her family's patronal traditions in both France and the Levant might have seemed like an appropriate way of declaring her heritage and staking her ambitions. After all, Alice's own father, Henry II, had made a donation to Sens Cathedral and founded chaplaincies in both Troyes and Provins before taking the cross.¹²

The work of Zehava Jacoby, Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, and Jaroslav Folda has charted a steady course for sculptural production in the Latin Kingdom, punctuated by a series of more or less episodic contacts with Early and High Gothic monuments in northern France (and, possibly, also elsewhere).¹³ As far as can be discerned through the fragmentary evidence, the same pattern applied to contemporary Cypriot monuments, where the abbey church of Bellapais and the chapel converted into Limassol Castle in around 1400 were largely tributary to the north-eastern French idiom introduced at Saint Sophia.¹⁴ With the exception of the Nicosia Cathedral east end, both mainland and island Latin ecclesiastical architecture of the first half of the thirteenth century combined Gothic elements, such as rib vaults, with robust, unarticulated walls and relatively restrained openings, inherited from local Romanesque tradition.¹⁵ In spite of the extremely exiguous nature of the surviving evidence, the middle and second half of the century offer more concrete insights regarding the introduction and adaptation of new stylistic trends in the crusader states. The castle and town chapels at the Templar site of 'Atlit, dated to c.1250, as well as the Great Hall and its porch at Crac des Chevaliers, built probably around 1260, display clear callbacks to Parisian and Reims architecture.¹⁶ The same principal sources informed the rather idiosyncratic west end of Nicosia Cathedral from the 1270s onwards, where a master mason, equipped with knowledge of the Reims Cathedral west front and its derivatives in Noyon, Auxerre, and Soissons, and a sound understanding of Parisian *Rayonnant* edifices, such as the Sainte-Chapelle and the transept façades of Notre-Dame, opened up a wholly new chapter in Cypriot monumental architecture (Figure 9.2).¹⁷ None of these developments may be securely attributed to the presence of French royalty in the East. Although Louis IX is thought to have engaged his masons on the Gothic-style northern and eastern gate houses of the Caesarea fortifications during their extensive Frankish remodelling and, perhaps, the east end of that town's cathedral in 1251–1252, he never visited Crac and is not documented as financing church building in Latin Syria.¹⁸ At any rate, there is little reason to specifically burden Louis with importing Parisian stylistic trends to the Levant, given the long history of prior artistic contacts between West and East and the fact that the spread of architectural ideas beyond the kingdom of France may be paralleled at the time in places like the Holy Roman Empire, England, and the Iberian Peninsula

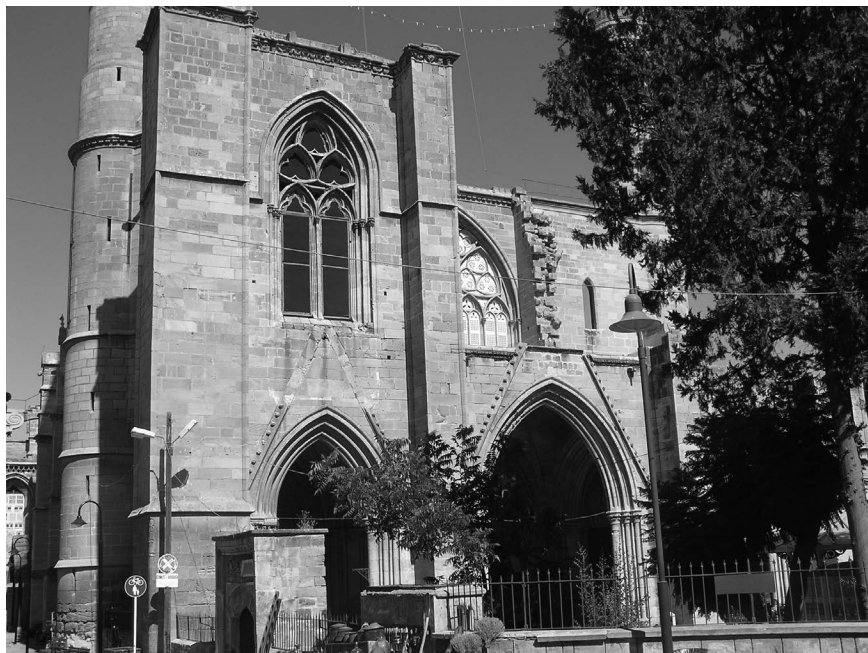


Figure 9.2 Nicosia, Saint Sophia, west front, general view

Source: Author.

(among others). As elsewhere, questions of prestige and display would have compelled patrons to indulge in the latest architectural fashions for their own ends.¹⁹

An arguably less intensely explored topic than the frequency and character of artistic transfers between Europe and the Latin East is that of artistic interchange between the mainland crusader states and the Lusignan kingdom in the course of the thirteenth century. Given the strong political, social, demographic, and mercantile connections between the two neighbouring areas, a dynamic artistic give-and-take would most definitely be expected. Recent research by Erica Cruikshank Dodd, Annemarie Weyl Carr, Mat Immerzeel, Bas Snelders, and others, has highlighted the constant movement of painters, artworks, and styles between Cyprus and the opposite littoral, especially the northern crusader polities in modern-day Syria and Lebanon.²⁰ In the domain of Gothic architecture, analogous links between the two areas still remain largely speculative. The documentary record attests to the presence in Cyprus of masons from Latin Syria ever since the very beginning of Lusignan rule, yet explicit mentions of specific craftsmen are absent from the extant sources prior to the fourteenth century, by which time the demographic map of the region had drastically changed.²¹ As already seen, the material evidence is equally sparse and often unwieldy. Certain generic similarities, such as the often thick, flat, unarticulated walls, the occasional use of marginally

drafted masonry, and the quasi-universal absence of timber roofs over the vaulting, suggest that thirteenth-century Gothic in both Latin Syria and Cyprus partly grew out of the same shared heritage, namely the Romanesque architecture of the Crusader Levant. The numerous analogies between thirteenth-century buildings in both areas would imply that, just as in contemporary painting, masons, designs, and ornamental motifs travelled extensively between mainland and island. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that a few of the most characteristic motifs of crusader architecture in Syro-Palestine, such as dog-tooth or the so-called “Syrian cornice,” only emerge in Cyprus in the late thirteenth century, when wave upon wave of refugees reached the island in the aftermath of Muslim aggression.²²

Of the few attempts that have hitherto been made to identify specific instances of Syro-Cypriot architectural encounters in this period, the case of the affinity between the Cenacle in Jerusalem and Nicosia Cathedral is undoubtedly the most comprehensively discussed, not to mention also the most controversial (Figure 9.3). The Cenacle or chapel of the Last Supper, once situated above the eastern bays in the twin south aisles of the twelfth-century basilica of Saint Mary on Mount Sion, is a relatively modest vaulted space with a complex construction history, which is still imperfectly known. The building juxtaposes a mixture of Romanesque and Gothic features, which has led some scholars, such as Enlart and Jürgen Krüger, to postulate a thirteenth-century reconstruction incorporating earlier, twelfth-century architectural members or phases; obviously, after the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin at the Battle of the Horns of Hattin in 1187, such repairs would most likely have taken place in the relatively brief period during which the Holy City was restored to Christian hands, namely between 1229 and 1244.²³ On the contrary, Hugh Plommer, Nicola Coldstream, Denys Pringle, Amit Re’em, and Ilya Berkovich date the entire structure to a single or to multiple twelfth-century construction phases having preceded the Ayyubid conquest, judging the short-lived Christian interlude following the Treaty of Jaffa to have been unpropitious for the execution of repair works on this scale. Taking this line of thought further, Coldstream argued that the master mason responsible for drawing up the design for the Cenacle had previously been employed at the *chantier* of Laon Cathedral in Picardy, and that, a few short decades later, he would have been placed at the helm of Nicosia Cathedral’s flashy new Gothic chevet.²⁴

Even though a more in-depth study of the Cenacle’s architecture would be a desideratum for resolving any outstanding chronology issues, a few relevant thoughts may be outlined here. First, the chapel’s interior articulation and sculpture does indeed seem to belong to two radically different styles, Romanesque (for the responds of the south wall and the two easternmost columns) and Gothic (responds of the north wall, westernmost extant column, windows in the south wall, and rib vaulting). The Gothic parts, which evince a consistent formal vocabulary throughout the structure, would appear a little too precocious for a date in the latter half of the twelfth century. Apart from the fully developed crockets on the capitals, a telltale sign are the miniaturised corbels set below the bases of the colonettes flanking the windows of the south wall (Figure 9.4). According to Jean Bony and Mathieu Tricoit, such devices first appeared in the 1210s in the ambulatory of



Figure 9.3 Jerusalem, Cenacle, interior, general view towards the east

Source: Author.

Reims Cathedral and only grew to prominence in France in the 1220s and 1230s.²⁵ In the Latin East, they can also be found at the *Logis du Maître* at Crac des Chevaliers, the town chapel at 'Atlit, and the chapel of the Sea Castle at Sidon, among other places, all datable to the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century.²⁶



Figure 9.4 Jerusalem, Cenacle, window of south wall, detail of colonette base and plinth
Source: Author.

Beyond questions of architectural style, the strongest arguments in favour of the wholesale dating of the Cenacle to the twelfth century were formulated on the basis of textual criticism. Recent archaeological research has shown that the chapel was designed to open from its lofty perch above the south aisles into the main vessel of the basilica of Saint Mary through a series of broad arches adorned with Gothic mouldings and sculpture. This observation suggests that the Cenacle's rib vaulting and assorted Gothic features would have been introduced while the basilica was still standing and in good order.²⁷ Conversely, a set of pilgrim guidebooks seem to imply that the church had collapsed and lay in ruins by c.1229–1244, rendering any hypothesis advocating a rebuilding or thorough repair of the chapel in those years virtually untenable.²⁸ Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that a surfeit of factual anachronisms, due to partial reliance on (occasionally much) earlier sources, make these texts extremely hard to date, and that an alternative reading of the evidence could produce a date as late as in the second half of the thirteenth century.²⁹ Such an interpretation would not exclude that the basilica might have collapsed in 1244, when the Khwarizmians are known to have ravaged Mount Sion during their assault on Jerusalem, thus allowing enough time for the Cenacle's refurbishment in the immediately preceding decade-and-a-half.³⁰

Another objection to construction at the site in the 1230s and 1240s has been raised on account of Wilbrand of Oldenburg's travelogue of 1211–1212, where

it is stated that the church complex on Mount Sion was then inhabited by Syrian Christians.³¹ Even supposing that the site had indeed remained in its entirety in non-Latin hands down to the century's second quarter (an assumption which is certainly debatable), this fact alone need not have forestalled the launch of a Gothic reconstruction project.³² After all, architectural styles of European pedigree had long been adopted by non-Latin communities in Jerusalem itself, where, for example, the mid-twelfth-century Armenian Cathedral of Saint James was erected on an Armeno-Cilician/Byzantine plan by builders trained in the Levantine Romanesque idiom common in the Holy City at the time.³³ In other words, from both an architectural and a historical standpoint, dating the Gothic parts of the Cenacle to the brief Frankish *interregnum* between 1229 and 1244 appears to be both plausible and consonant with coeval architectural developments elsewhere in Europe and the Latin East. If this dating is correct, however, the chapel on Mount Sion could not have served as a model for the chevet of Nicosia Cathedral, begun at least about 20 years earlier.

At close range, the proposed similarities between the Cenacle and Nicosia look nothing if not generic. Features such as vault rib profiles, capital sculpture, and the overall format of the windows in both buildings are comparable only insofar as they reflect trends in contemporary French Early and High Gothic. Furthermore, the diminutive corbels on the bases and the keeled roll on the arch of the Cenacle windows did not make their Cypriot debut until the last quarter of the century, in the west end of the capital's great church.³⁴ This is not to say that no concrete data exist to illustrate the circulation of designs and ideas between mainland and island in this period – only that one may need to look for them elsewhere. Tortosa Cathedral, for instance, sports a thoroughly planar west front pierced by a modest central portal below a triplet of generous windows and traditionally dated to the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The large, untraciered lancets of the windows, flanked by ringed *en délit* shafts with crocket capitals, were undoubtedly inspired by their counterparts in Nicosia Cathedral, as was the stepped passage bridging the north and south ends of the façade's interior. The resemblance is unmistakable, even though, at Tortosa, the Nicosian loans were subsumed within the Romanesque matrix that conditioned the format of the nave's thirteenth-century completion.³⁵

The lacunary picture pieced together from the foregoing discussion of the varied and disparate available evidence regarding thirteenth-century Gothic in the Latin East is one of continuous importation and adaptation of European models, introduced to serve the representational needs, not only of western sovereigns on crusade, but also of local elites and institutions. The emerging patterns of architectural patronage indicate that both the Crusader Levant and Lusignan Cyprus were fully enmeshed in the broader networks along which craftsmen and ideas were transmitted from one end of Latin Christendom to the other. Mainland and island constituted distinct but interrelated centres of artistic innovation, whose impact on each other often proves difficult to quantify. If the example of the Cenacle and its alleged Nicosian progeny is anything to go by, exploring further the fascinating history of architectural interactions in this period and region should

proceed by elaborating a broader context via fertile scholarly dialogue across the Levantine Sea.

Notes

- 1 Paul Deschamps, "Saint Louis et le rayonnement de l'art français," in *Le siècle de Saint Louis* (Paris, 1970), 142–52.
- 2 Paul Deschamps, "Saint Louis et le rayonnement de l'art français," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 90/4 (1946): 618–34. For early French scholarship on Romanesque and Gothic architecture in the eastern Mediterranean, see now Jaroslav Folda, "East Meets West: The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, 2nd ed., ed. Conrad Rudolph, Wiley Blackwell Companions to Art History 14 (Hoboken, NJ, 2019), 705–27, at 705–08; Michalis Olympios, "Gothic in the Latin East," *Idem*, 729–58, at 731–32.
- 3 Jean Mesqui, "'Pour la garde et pour l'honneur de la foi chrétienne: Saint Louis et la fortification des villes en Terre sainte'" and Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, "La splendeur de l'art de la cour de saint Louis," both in *Saint Louis*, ed. Pierre-Yves Le Pogam with the assistance of Christine Vivet-Peclet (Paris, 2014), 131–37 and 153–68 respectively.
- 4 On textual evidence of Louis IX's involvement in fortification works in the Latin East, consult, among others, Jean Richard, *Saint Louis, roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte* (Paris, 1983), 248–49; *Blessed Louis, the Most Glorious of Kings: Texts Relating to the Cult of Saint Louis of France*, trans. M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Phyllis B. Katz, *Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture* (Notre Dame, IN, 2012), 28, 70–71, 106–07, 116–17; *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*, eds. M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean L. Field, trans. Larry F. Field (Ithaca, NY, 2014), 18–38, 42–57, 103. On toning down the king's role in the dissemination of the Gothic in the East, see Nicola Coldstream, "Camille Enlart and the Gothic Architecture of Cyprus," in Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, ed. and trans. David Hunt (London, 1987), 1–10, at 6–8; Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge, 2005), 280; Nicolas Prouteau, "Eudes de Montreuil, maître des oeuvres des fortifications de Jaffa, une légende franciscaine?," *Bulletin monumental* 164 (2006): 109–12; see also the comments in Justine Andrews, "Conveyance and Convergence: Visual Culture in Medieval Cyprus," in *Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, ca. 1000–1500*, eds. Heather E. Grossman and Alicia Walker, *Medieval Encounters* 18/4–5 (Leiden, 2013), 413–46, at 417–19; Michalis Olympios, *Building the Sacred in a Crusader Kingdom: Gothic Church Architecture in Lusignan Cyprus, c. 1209–c. 1373*, *Architectura Medii Aevi* 11 (Turnhout, 2018), 3–4, 70–71.
- 5 Olympios, "Gothic in the Latin East"; Michalis Olympios, "Architecture, Use of Space, and Ornament in the Mendicant Churches of Latin Greece: An Overview," in *Cross-Cultural Encounters in Medieval Greece after 1204: The Evidence of Art and Material Culture*, eds. Sophia Kalopissi-Verti and Vicky Foskolou, *Byzantios: Studies in Byzantine History and Civilisation* (Turnhout, forthcoming), both with earlier bibliography.
- 6 On the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and rib vaulting in the twelfth-century Levant, see Robert Ousterhout, "The French Connection? Construction of Vaults and Cultural Identity in Crusader Architecture," in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, eds. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore, 2004), 77–94; Christian Freigang, "Jerusalem und Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: Das Heilige Land in der Provence," in *Architektur und Monumentalskulptur des 12.–14. Jahrhunderts, Produktion und Rezeption: Festschrift für Peter Kurmann zum 65. Geburtstag / Architecture et sculpture monumentale du 12^e au 14^e siècle, production et réception:*

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 - 27 Pringle, *The Churches*, 3:275–82, 285; Re'em and Berkovich, "New Discoveries," 75–80, 84–87 posit a large-scale rebuilding of the basilica's east end at the time of the Cenacle's Gothic refurbishment, but the extant evidence does not preclude a more modest, "surgical" operation at the level of the chapel itself.
 - 28 Pringle, *The Churches*, 3:268, 285; Re'em and Berkovich, "New Discoveries," 62, 84–86. For the texts, see Wilhelm Anton Neumann, Review of *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII. IX. XII. et XV.*, ed. Titus Tobler (Leipzig, 1874), *Theologische Quartalschrift* 56 (1874): 521–50, at 536–37; *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre sainte rédigés en français aux XI^e, XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, eds. Henri Michelant and Gaston Raynaud, Publications de la Société de l'Orient latin, série géographique III: itinéraires français XI^e–XIII^e siècles (Geneva, 1882), 96, 104⁶; Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, 5 vols. (Florence, 1906–27), 1:406; *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, ed. Denys Pringle, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 23 (Farnham, 2012), 170, 176.
 - 29 *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, ix; *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 21–22, 34–36, 40–43; Elizabeth J. Mylod, *Latin Christian Pilgrimage in the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2013), 23–35. Of the texts that refer to the ruinous state of the basilica on Mount Sion, *The Holy Pilgrimages* and Anonymous IX have been dated on internal evidence to c.1229–1239/44 by Pringle and to 1229–55 and 1187–1291 respectively by Mylod, whereas the various versions of *The Ways and Pilgrimages of the Holy Land* range in date between the mid-1240s and the 1260s. As a general rule, one should remain very cautious about attempting to narrow down the thirteenth-century date, given that it is not always clear which information may have been out of date at the time of composition. For instance, if the reference in *The Holy Pilgrimages* to the "Nuns of Tyre" as in possession of Saint Mary the Great in Jerusalem, is taken as evocative of an earlier situation *de facto* no longer valid, there would seemingly be no impediment to redating the text to c.1240–1255, given that the Church of Mount Tabor is described there as belonging to the Benedictines. Mount Tabor was only officially ceded back to Christian control via the treaty concluded between Richard of Cornwall and al-Salih Ayyub in 1240/41, while in 1255 the site passed to the Hospitallers: Rabei G. Khamisy, "The Mount Tabor Territory under Frankish Control," in *Crusader Landscapes in the Medieval Levant: The Archaeology and History of the Latin East*, eds. Micaela Sinibaldi, Kevin J. Lewis, Balázs Major, and Jennifer A. Thompson (Cardiff, 2016), 39–53; Rabei G. Khamisy and Denys Pringle, "Richard of Cornwall's Treaty with Egypt, 1241," in *Crusading and Trading between West and East: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*, eds. Sophia Menache, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Michel Balard, *Crusades – Subsidia* 12 (London, 2019), 54–84. However, since in 1240/41 the Benedictines were reclaiming a site that they had initially held between c.1100 and 1187, our text could be reflective of this earlier period, in which case the treaty would be irrelevant for fixing

the date. Despite the unwieldy nature of the evidence, it would perhaps make sense to cluster most, if not all, of these kindred texts around the better-dated *The Ways and Pilgrimages of the Holy Land* by placing them in the post-1244 period.

- 30 For the Khwarizmians' depredations on Mount Sion, *Chronica de Mailros, e codice unico in Bibliotheca Cottoniana servato, nunc iterum in lucem edita notulis indiceque aucta*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1835), 156–62; *The Chronicle of Melrose from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX in the British Museum: A Complete and Full-Size Facsimile in Collotype*, eds. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, Studies in Economics and Political Science 100 (London, 1936), 91–95; *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: A Stratigraphic Edition, Volume I: Introduction and Facsimile Edition*, eds. Dauvit Broun and Julian Harrison, Scottish Chronicles Project (Woodbridge, UK, 2007), 153–57; *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols. (London, 1872–83), 4:337–46; Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, trans. Gérard Nahon, 2 vols., Le Monde byzantin (Paris, 1969–70), 2:310–11; Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, Landscape and Art in the Holy City under Frankish Rule* (London, 2001), 19–20, 111–13.
- 31 Pringle, *The Churches*, 3:267–68, 285; Re'em and Berkovich, "New Discoveries," 62, 85–86. For the text, Denys Pringle, "Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211–1212): A New Edition," *Crusades* 11 (2012): 109–37, at 135.
- 32 Andrew Jotischky, "The Franciscan Return to the Holy Land (1333) and Mt Sion: Pilgrimage and the Apostolic Mission," in *The Crusader World*, ed. Adrian J. Boas (London, 2016), 241–55, at 246 speculates about the possibility of Franciscan settlement at Mount Sion already in 1229–44.
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10 Limassol from 1191 to 1300

Its importance in the context of crusades, trade, and settlement

Nicholas Coureas

The town of Limassol was overshadowed by Famagusta from the later thirteenth century onwards, when the Mamluk conquest of Latin Syria between the years 1265 and 1291 brought numerous refugees from Latin Syria to Cyprus and chiefly to Famagusta, which by 1300 had become the principal port of the island. Yet Limassol, conquered during the Third Crusade, witnessing Latin settlement even before the conquest of Cyprus by King Richard I of England in 1191 and the main commercial port of Cyprus prior to the rise of Famagusta, merits discussion in the overall context of crusade, trade, and settlement in the Latin East during the thirteenth century. The southernmost port of Cyprus, Limassol's location made it equally accessible to ships sailing from Europe and from the Latin-controlled regions of Syria and Palestine. Furthermore, it was the closest Cypriot port to Egypt. Hence it offered advantages to merchants using Cyprus as a staging post for their journeys between Europe and Latin Syria, to Western strategists planning military campaigns from Cyprus against Egypt and to settlers who desired proximity to what was then the island's main port.

Limassol in the context of crusades

From the close of the twelfth century and throughout the thirteenth, Limassol was important strategically to the Latins, who conquered Cyprus in 1191 during the Third Crusade, but also to their Muslim enemies, specifically the Ayyubid dynasty ruling over Egypt and Syria in the first half of the thirteenth century and later on to their Mamluk successors. King Richard I of England sailed from Sicily via Rhodes to Limassol during the Third Crusade, which aimed to recover the Holy Land from the forces of Saladin. His sister Eleanor of Aquitaine and his betrothed Berengaria had arrived earlier at Limassol, although according to Western sources they avoided disembarking and dining with Isaac Comnenus, the ruler of Cyprus, despite his repeated invitations, because they distrusted him. Some of these sources maintain that Isaac had mistreated Western pilgrims forced to land on Cyprus due to storms at sea.¹ Nevertheless, the Western sources relating the capture of Limassol by King Richard, the initial phase of his campaign against Isaac, which resulted in the conquest of Cyprus in the space of around one month, vary significantly in their accounts.

The Colbert-Fontainebleau version of the continuation of the chronicle of William of Tyre, completed just before the mid-thirteenth century and known as “Eracles,” maintains that Isaac and his forces fled from Limassol on sighting the fleet of King Richard as it approached the port of Limassol. While Richard’s forces disembarked he remained on board his galley and welcomed some Western merchants residing in Limassol, who had journeyed to him on their boats so as to inform him of the situation prevailing in the town. This mention of Western merchants living in Limassol at the time of Richard’s arrival constitutes evidence that Western settlement in Limassol antedated the Third Crusade. According to the information they imparted, Isaac and his forces had fled to the mountains, while the merchants and people remaining in Limassol were ready to welcome Richard as their lord. Richard dispatched the merchants back to Limassol along with two of his knights, who were instructed to inform the inhabitants that their lives and goods were in no danger from him and his forces. He then gave orders for his forces to set up camp at some distance from Limassol, issuing strict orders that they were not to harm the town’s inhabitants.²

The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, otherwise known as the “Lyon Eracles,” and completed in the mid-thirteenth century, gives a unique account of the events taking place in the Latin East between the years 1184 and 1197. Its narration of King Richard’s capture of Limassol differs from the Colbert-Fontainebleau version in several respects. It recounts that Isaac and his forces began their withdrawal from Limassol as soon as the arrival of King Richard’s fleet was confirmed but did not manage to complete this withdrawal. On observing the withdrawal, King Richard hurriedly disembarked his forces, ordered them to attack and gave battle with Isaac’s forces in the town of Limassol, himself taking part in this battle that resulted in the defeat of Isaac and his forces.³ More detailed than either of the above two chronicle accounts as regards King Richard’s capture of Limassol in the context of the Third Crusade, is that of the chronicle titled *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*. The 12 extant manuscripts date mostly to the first half of the thirteenth century and so are near-contemporary.⁴

According to the *Itinerarium* a sea battle in the port of Limassol preceded the land battle between the armies of King Richard and Isaac. On entering the port, Richard’s fleet had to overcome various obstacles such as large rocks and sunken ships that had been placed there deliberately to prevent the fleet’s passage into the port. This fleet also had to face the volley of arrows fired by Isaac’s archers, who were crewing five galleys positioned within the port. To eliminate these obstacles King Richard sent forth small boats, the so-called *snekas*, likewise crewed by archers, who were instructed to neutralise Isaac’s archers and seize control of the port, which they did. Having gained control of the port, King Richard’s forces disembarked and attacked Isaac’s land forces that were in the vicinity of the port. King Richard disembarked later with additional forces, and following his descent, Isaac’s forces were defeated and forced to flee.⁵ The Chronicle of Ambroise, written by an admirer of King Richard probably originating from Normandy, is dated between the years 1194 and 1199. It is valuable because the author had himself taken part in the Third Crusade. He likewise mentions the sea battle and states

that Isaac's forces had left nothing in Limassol that could be used as a weapon, all such items having been taken to the shore to resist the landing. It also observes that the forces of King Richard knew how to fight better than those of Isaac. Also, as the *Itinerarium* points out, the crusaders defeated Isaac's forces in Limassol, whom he mentions as including Armenians as well as Greeks, after King Richard had disembarked with additional forces on seeing that his forces were in difficulty. There are many similarities between Ambroise and the *Itinerarium*, and Richard de Templo, the author of the long version of the *Itinerarium*, relied on Ambroise heavily.⁶

A comparison of the earlier accounts indicates that the degree of resistance to Richard's landing at Limassol was fiercest in the accounts of Ambroise and the *Itinerarium*. They describe Isaac and his forces as mounting a determined resistance that Richard had to overcome, whereas the other two accounts state that Isaac and his forces began to abandon Limassol at the very sight of King Richard's fleet. Ambroise's admiration for Richard has been mentioned already. Regarding the *Itinerarium*, several of its manuscripts are datable to the 1220s, a period in which the English monarchy was in the midst of a political crisis following the loss of most of the Angevin possessions in France and the French invasion of England. Presenting King Richard as a heroic and courageous king was undertaken to reinforce a monarchy in crisis.⁷ He had to be seen as defeating a doughty adversary, and so Isaac's resistance was perhaps exaggerated. In any case, all three chronicle accounts agree that the English forces disembarked at Limassol, an acknowledgement of its importance as a strategic prize as the main Cypriot port, which had to be captured for the campaign to continue successfully. The *Itinerarium* provides an additional indication of Limassol's importance to the crusading army of King Richard when it refers to "the royal highway next to the city of Limassol" in describing the venue where King Richard and Isaac met for a conference after the capture of Limassol. Such highways were normally constructed for the use of the Byzantine emperors and their officials, a further indication of Limassol's significance. Although Richard himself left Cyprus from Famagusta after the conquest of Cyprus on one of his best galleys so as to take part in the siege of Acre, he sent his army back to Limassol, clearly the chief location for the concentration of the crusading forces.⁸

Pope Honorius III proposed Cyprus as the venue of the Fifth Crusade in two letters of July 1215 addressed to the kings of Jerusalem and Hungary and to the archbishop of Genoa. The forces taking part, including King Hugh I of Cyprus, Archbishop Eustorge de Montaigu of Nicosia and Walter of Caesarea the Constable of Cyprus, assembled initially at Acre in autumn 1217, commencing with an expedition against the Muslims in Palestine.⁹ Nevertheless, the usefulness of Cyprus, and of Limassol in particular, became apparent once the crusading forces decided in summer 1218 to launch a campaign against Egypt, taking Damietta in November 1219. The location of Limassol made it easily accessible to ships travelling to and from Europe, Egypt, and Syria. Supplies of wheat, barley, and other victuals could, moreover, be dispatched there easily.¹⁰ During this attack on Egypt under the command of John of Brienne, the Latin King of Jerusalem,

Archbishop Eustorge, and knights from Cyprus participated in this campaign, and Limassol was used as a supply base. The Muslims of Egypt, then ruled by the Ayyubid dynasty, were well aware of its usefulness to the crusaders. In 1220 they launched a seaborne raid against Limassol. Observing that the crusader supply lines between Limassol and Egypt were guarded inadequately, the Christians not having any galleys at sea, they armed and equipped a fleet numbering 20 galleys, sending it to attack Limassol. This fleet accomplished a surprise attack, burning many ships in the port and seizing ships going from there to Acre or Damietta. Up to 13,000 Christians were killed during this raid according to certain sources. Pelagius, the papal legate, had been repeatedly informed of the impending Muslim raid by spies but had refused to believe them, considering that the spies were imparting such news for material gain. He was distraught on learning of the raid, for he had neglected to take the necessary countermeasures to prevent it, despite being warned. He armed some galleys, sending them to Cyprus to apprehend the Muslim galleys, but it was too late, since the latter had returned to their lands laden with captives and booty.¹¹

Limassol was the chosen venue for a crusade planned against the Ayyubids of Egypt in 1227, to be led by the German Emperor Frederick II, who was also the suzerain of the kingdom of Cyprus, whose first king, Aimery, had received his crown from Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim, the representative of Emperor Henry VI, Frederick's predecessor. The principal Latin nobles of Latin Syria gathered in 1227 at Limassol to await Emperor Frederick's arrival, but his journey was postponed and he arrived in Cyprus in July 1228, his journey from Brindisi in southern Italy to the port of Limassol taking 24 days. Eventually Emperor Frederick secured the return of territory to the Latin Christians by negotiation, and departed for Western Europe early in 1229.¹² Limassol also figured in the crusading plans of Count Theobald of Champagne in 1237. The count was advised by the Latin nobility and clergy in the East as well as the representatives of the military orders of the Temple and the Hospital to sail to Limassol with his forces and meet the Latin commanders there. Clearly Limassol was envisaged as the launching pad of a new crusading offensive against the Ayyubids. Theobald's advisers had told him that Cyprus was equidistant from Alexandria in Egypt and Acre in Palestine, and that he could obtain victuals from Cyprus easily. Eventually, however, Theobald decided not to use Cyprus as his base, sailing straight to Acre from the port of Aigues Mortes in southern France.¹³

King Louis IX of France, the leader of the Seventh Crusade, was the ruler who made the greatest use of the geographical advantages and facilities that Limassol could provide as a springboard for crusading ventures in the eastern Mediterranean. Like Theobald before him, King Louis departed from Aigues Mortes, reaching Limassol on 17 September 1248, his journey having lasted 24 days like that of Emperor Frederick II. King Louis had covered a greater distance, an indication that he had had more favourable weather. Prior to reaching Cyprus, King Louis and his officers had arranged for the concentration of large quantities of grain, wine, and horses for the mounted knights of the expedition. According to the chronicle of Joinville, who took part in the campaign in person, the king's

officers had begun purchasing wine in Cyprus up to two years before his arrival. Huge barrels of this wine had been stacked in fields close to the seashore, while the quantities of wheat and barley piled in these fields were so great that they resembled hillocks, especially when due to rainfall grass began to grow on the tops of these mounds of grain. The forces of King Louis IX and of King Henry I of Cyprus gathered in Limassol, along with those of the Ibelins, the most powerful of the Cypriot noble families, and of the Templars and Hospitallers, the last arriving in Cyprus from Acre. King Louis' fleet also included 15 galleys from Genoa. The king's brother, Charles of Anjou, accompanied him and at a later stage 1,000 knights from Latin Syria, 400 knights from Latin Greece under the command of Geoffrey de Villehardouin the Prince of the Morea, and an English force under the command of the Count of Salisbury joined his forces. The force that finally set sail from Limassol for Egypt in May 1249 numbered over 25,000 men, with the ships transporting them numbering 1,800. Joinville, a close adviser of King Louis IX, as well as a chronicler of this expedition, described the sea as covered by the sails of the ships.¹⁴

The sojourn of such a large army in the vicinity of Limassol from September 1248 until May 1249 brought its own problems. Numerous men died from an epidemic that struck the concentrated armies of the crusaders. These included 260 knights of King Louis, according to the papal legate accompanying the army. Certain Western chroniclers such as Matthew Paris and Ramon Lull attributed these losses to the unhealthy climate of Cyprus, while the anonymous author of the *Directorium* claimed that the consumption of Cyprus wines without the addition of water "intestina et cerebrum destruunt et comburunt," that is it brought on the destruction and inflammation of the innards and the brain. The cuisine of Cyprus was also cited as a harmful factor. The author of the *Directorium* also asserted that the prolonged stay of the soldiers near Limassol engendered idleness and boredom, causing fights between the soldiers to break out and strife to appear among them. This time-consuming presence of the troops was also costly, so that numerous Western nobles were compelled, due to straitened financial circumstances, to borrow money from Italian merchants, pledging as security the estates they owned in France. The problems occurring during the crusade of King Louis IX of France influenced the perceptions that later crusading theorists in the West had regarding Cyprus. In the proposals for crusades that they submitted, Cyprus was rejected as a suitable venue for the concentration of crusader forces for reasons such as those just given.¹⁵

In the second half of the thirteenth century Limassol suffered a second raid from Egypt, a country under the rule of the Mamluks from 1250 until the Ottoman conquest of 1517. From 1265 onwards, the Mamluk sultan Baybars began the series of conquests of Latin towns on the littoral of Syria and Palestine that culminated in 1291 with the fall of Acre and Tyre and the end of the Latin presence in Syria. He captured Caesarea and Arsuf in 1265, also destroying Haifa. In 1266, he conquered the powerful Templar castle of Safed and in 1268 his armies took Jaffa, Beaufort, and Antioch in northern Syria. These conquests set in train the exodus of Christians from Syria to Cyprus, and mainly to Famagusta. Famagusta was the

Cypriot port directly opposite Syria, and thence the Syrian Christians could maintain contact and develop trading links with the Syrian mainland more easily than from elsewhere on Cyprus. This influx of Syrians between the 1260s and 1291 led to Famagusta displacing Limassol as the island's principal commercial port by the close of the thirteenth century. But Limassol still had strategic value as a spring-board for attacks on either Egypt or Syria. King Hugh III of Cyprus dispatched Cypriot forces to Acre, the capital of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in the years 1265, 1266, 1268, and 1269. In the year 1271 he summoned the knights of Cyprus to serve in Latin Syria once again, but they refused on this occasion, stating that the king was not entitled to make them serve in his forces outside Cyprus. This dispute reached its climax in July 1271 and only a few weeks earlier King Hugh had initiated an unsuccessful attack by sea against Mamluk Syria. Meanwhile, Baybars conquered three castles, the Templar castle of Chastel Blanc, Hospitaller Crac des Chevaliers, and Montfort of the Teutonic knights. But Prince Edward's arrival in Latin Syria in spring 1271 at the head of crusading forces from the West, in conjunction with King Hugh's arrival in command of a large force in the same year, despite his nobles' reluctance, seem to have unnerved Sultan Baybars. This was the political and military background to his diversionary attack on Limassol. As explained previously, its location made it better placed for naval raids on both Egypt and Syria than any other Cypriot port.¹⁶

This attack materialised in the form of a naval raid in June 1271, and the targeting of Limassol is a strong indication that as on previous occasions it was used for resupplying the crusading forces with men and supplies. The sources differ on the number of ships taking part but agree that the fleet in question, apparently painted black and with crosses on the sails so as to deceive the Cypriots, ran aground on the shoals before Limassol. According to some sources a small number of the ships managed to escape. Around 1,800 captives were taken from among both the soldiers and sailors according to the Muslim accounts of al-Yūnīnī, a near contemporary source, and the fifteenth century Al-Aynī. On learning of this disaster, apparently from a letter King Hugh III wrote to him, Sultan Baybars made light of the news, comparing the loss of his ships as being of little account when compared to the numerous fortifications he had taken from the Franks in Syria. Unlike fortifications and cities, ships could be replaced with relative ease.¹⁷ Limassol was not raided by another Muslim fleet until 1426 when a Mamluk force invaded Cyprus. Arab sources given a number of reasons for the failure of this offensive. One source maintains that the Muslims were punished because prior to their departure for Cyprus they had their ships painted black like those of the Christians, with a view to deceiving them, and they also had banners bearing the sign of the cross for the same reason. A second explanation is that the Muslims, more experienced in land warfare than in naval warfare, lacked capable and experienced naval commanders and crews for their ships. A third explanation offered by the Arab historian Qirtay is that Sultan Baybars assigned the command of the expedition to two admirals instead of one and that they did not get on well with each other. Consequently, each was indifferent to the fate of the other when their ships ran aground on the shoals.¹⁸

Coptic as well as Muslim sources refer to this abortive raid. The contemporary thirteenth century Coptic chronicler Mufadhdhal ibn Abi'l Fadhail states that the sultan in Cairo was informed in writing by the Emir Shams al-Din al-Fariqani that his ships departing from the ports of Damietta and Alexandria for Cyprus had been struck by a tempest just before the port of Limassol, with the ships smashing against one another. Eleven ships and their equipment had been captured while six had managed to escape. If true, his account gives an indication of the size of the Muslim fleet. Mufadhdhal ibn Abi'l Fadhail recounts that the ambassador of Cyprus also told Sultan Baybars of the capture of his fleet, whereupon the sultan instructed him to tell King Hugh not to rejoice over this, for had his ships escaped the tempest they would have conquered Cyprus. He had, moreover, captured 14 strongholds in the course of his military campaigns on the Syrian mainland and so he praised Allah for saving his land forces through the loss of his sailors and their equipment, entreating Allah to have them replaced. Broadly speaking, this account is similar to the accounts given previously, but with no mention of the Muslim ships being camouflaged to resemble Christian ships.¹⁹

Limassol in the context of trade and settlement

The commercial importance Limassol had for the Latins antedated the conquest of Cyprus in 1191. The Venetians were the first to exploit the town's commercial advantages following their conclusion of a treaty in 1126 with the Byzantine Emperor John Comnenus. Limassol is mentioned in a notarial deed of 1139 according to the terms of which the Venetian merchant Domenico Rossani and his partner shared the sum of 46 gold coins, taking 23 each while in Limassol, undertaking to use this money to purchase merchandise from the Egyptian port of Damietta and to journey there on the ship captained by Mario Montello. Limassol was considered to have excellent mooring facilities at this time. Italian portolans such as the *Compasso di Navigare*, written in Acre, where Italians from various mercantile republics dwelt, make reference to the Cypriot ports of Limassol and Paphos but not Famagusta.²⁰

It is recorded that a number of Venetian urban and rural properties in Cyprus, which were confiscated by the crown between the years 1192 and probably 1205, certainly before c.1240, for unknown reasons and without precise dating, are listed in a Venetian report compiled by Jacobus de Varaigo in the years 1242–1244.²¹ According to this report, the Venetians possessed a church dedicated to Saint Mark, Venice's patron saint, in Limassol. This church owned a garden yielding a revenue of 50 white bezants per annum, six shops in the main square, four by the sea and two by the square. Four shops and two houses were rented to a certain Orlando who used to live there. There was also a residence, the dimensions of which allowed for its conversion into a covered market. George Zirini rented land from the church on which were located 12 houses, the incomes of which went to the church and to a hostel for the poor. The Church of Saint Mark also owned a church dedicated to Saint John used for christenings, an archdeaconry, and some houses used by Venetian money changers. It also owned some houses and some

other holdings on barren land that was occupied by a Venetian named Giovanni Augusti. This subsequently came into the possession of the bishopric of Limassol, and the Latin bishop had these edifices destroyed, turning the land over to the cultivation of wheat.²²

Some of the earlier-mentioned former Venetian properties in Limassol came into the hands of the Templars. By the first half of the thirteenth century, the Templars and the Hospitallers became more independent in the Holy Land as royal authority there declined. As a result, both orders were assigned the defence of a growing number of fortified places. Templar estates in the diocese of Limassol enabled them to send supplies from nearby Cyprus to the Holy Land via the port of Limassol.²³ Among the Venetian properties that the Templars acquired were a house in Limassol, two gardens outside of and to the west of the city, and a third garden to the east of the city. They acquired a second house located by the sea in the eastern sector of Limassol, a house and some assets previously belonging to Domenico Zirini, as well as a house, some fields, and some gardens dependent on the *casale* of Yermasoyia near Limassol. They acquired two mills and two planted vineyards in Yermasoyia and a pastureland at Phassouri, both *casalia* being close to Limassol.²⁴ Given the indebtedness of Guy, and probably also of his successor, Aimery, towards the Templars for the purchase of Cyprus, it is likely that the Templars acquired the properties formerly belonging to the Venetians during the rule of one of these two kings. One cannot be certain of this, given the absence of a date of confiscation of the properties in question. Noteworthy is the fact that Greek laity and clergy, as well as Latin clergy, came to acquire properties formerly belonging to the Venetians in Limassol. Land in west Limassol belonging to the Church of Saint Nicholas near a garden acquired by the Hospitallers, formerly belonging to the Venetian Viviano Bono, was held "by Greeks" after the confiscations. Land formerly belonging to the Venetian Stefanesi, of the family of Stefano Zirini, was held by Constantine Colocato, while the daughter of a certain Vasiliki came into possession of three shops previously belonging to Vitale Venier, and ten shops in two courtyards formerly belonging to Aurius Bertranus. A Greek priest possessed the house formerly belonging to the sister of George Zirini, while the formerly Venetian public baths yielding an income of 1,000 white bezants came into the possession of the soldier Philip the Greek.²⁵

As previously explained, the Hospitallers became more independent in the Holy Land during the thirteenth century and were granted more fortifications to defend there. Therefore, their estates in the diocese of Limassol provided valuable foodstuffs for their forces in the Holy Land, as well as urban properties in the town of Limassol. The Hospitallers also acquired urban and rural properties confiscated between the years 1192 and probably 1205, certainly before c. 1240, from the Venetians. The Venetian report of around 1242–1244, referred to earlier, records Venetian properties on Cyprus that subsequently came into the Hospitallers' possession. Among them were a house in the eastern sector of Limassol once belonging to Giovanni Michele but now in the possession of a certain James of the Hospitaller order, the *casale* of Monagroulli, formerly belonging to Viviano Bono, a garden previously belonging to Marco de Marcinino, which had come

into the possession of John of the Hospitallers, the *casale* of Threconium, the present-day Trachoni, to the west of Limassol, together with four pasturelands attached to the *casale*. King Hugh I, moreover, formally confirmed the grant of the *casale* of Monagroulli to the Hospitallers in September 1210 by royal charter.²⁶ The king also granted the order houses and squares in the town of Limassol that had belonged to a certain Lambites Sebastos and his sister, as though he himself had owned and possessed them, as well as a garden adjoining the houses of Guischon Span and Gerard de Maske, together with his rights to the bathhouse there.²⁷ From this list it is clear that the Venetians settled and traded in Limassol in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Saint Francis is reported to have passed through Limassol on his way to join the forces of the Fifth Crusade in Egypt in the years 1219–1220. A medieval text records that during this time a Franciscan friar named Barbaro said something to another friar that offended him. By way of penance Barbaro picked up some donkey excrement, put it into his mouth and began chewing it. A noble who had witnessed the incident was so moved that he offered himself and his possessions to the friars. This story, if true, indicates the existence of Franciscan friars in Limassol early in the thirteenth century. The tombstone of a certain Ourri de Brie was found at the site of Frangoklissia near the place where King Louis IX of France had set up camp before sailing to Egypt along with a second tombstone of the Franciscan friar Robert Iaue found in the same place. Both tombstones, discovered in 1865 and taken to France in 1866, suggest that there might have been a Franciscan friary at this locality, which is near the village of Polemidia. Perhaps it was founded by King Louis IX at the time when he founded a Franciscan friary at Damietta in Egypt in 1249.²⁸

Italians other than the Venetians traded and settled in Limassol. In May 1199 Aimery, the first Lusignan King of Cyprus, received 28,050 white bezants from a consortium of Latin merchants, granting them in exchange for the right to receive the customs dues from the port of Limassol for a biennium. Pisans settled in Limassol in the early thirteenth century and developed their own communal institutions. The aforementioned Venetian report refers to the house formerly belonging to Domenico Armannus, now possessed by the Pisan Ugo de Clara, as well as to the courtyard “held by the Pisans” but formerly belonging to Domenico Damori and Martino Zancaroli. A Pisan named Lobardus possessed a garden, a tomb, and a cemetery, formerly belonging in equal shares to Vitale Bertrani and Nemito Sigorani.²⁹ By the mid-thirteenth century, Limassol was the most important and possibly the only centre of Pisan commercial activity on Cyprus. The Pisan consul established there continued to represent the Pisans throughout Cyprus even after the fall of Acre in 1291 to the Mamluks. The first recorded Pisan consul, Nucius Vernicalis, is mentioned in 1293 as consul *Pisanorum in Nimocio et insula tota Cypri* and a court usher named Henricus for the curia of the Pisans, entitled to try cases between Pisans and not involving bloodshed, is also recorded in 1293. Among the recorded Pisan notaries were Giovanni son of Paolo Tholomeus in 1292, Giacomo Follarius in 1292, Bartolomeo de Firmo in 1297 and Dotus in 1297. The curia and administrative centre were located within the Pisan loggia,

itself situated near the royal customs house a short distance from the port. Among the staff serving the consul were the *sensarius*, the commune's official mediator, the notary who also performed scribal duties and the *platearius* who was a law-enforcement officer. An act of the Genoese notary Lamberto di Sambuceto dated 11 February 1297, and recording the repayment of 200 Saracen bezants, records that the initial act granting this loan had been drawn up by the hand of Dotus, the notary and scribe of the Pisan commune in Limassol.³⁰

On 21 May 1296, the notary of the Pisan community in Cyprus, a certain Tomis the son of Raynucius de Casulis, prepared an act stating that John Chodecherius, a burgess of Limassol, had received payment of nine ounces of gold and 20 *terrini*, plus interest on this sum from the Pisan Bonaiuncta Scarlatius, acting on behalf of his fellow Pisan, Nucius Vernagallus. This act was drawn up in the Pisan loggia in front of the royal customs house in the presence of the Pisan Pietro Belcairo and the *sensarius* Amoroso. This act is important as evidence for the settlement of Latin burgesses in Limassol in the thirteenth century. A public instrument drawn up on 21 October 1296 in the loggia of the Pisan commune in Limassol recorded that two Pisan merchants named Giacomo Pulte and Guanus de Campo had received from their fellow Pisan, Giacomo Celonis, a resident of Messina in Italy who was making repayment on behalf of a group of Pisan merchants, 31 ounces of gold and 25 *terrini*, plus the interest on this sum. The witnesses were the Pisan Cielo, the son of Enrico de Campo, and the aforementioned *sensarius* Amoroso.³¹ As late as 1307, moreover, by which time Famagusta had long overtaken Limassol as the island's main port, the Pisan notary of Limassol, unlike his opposite number in Famagusta, bore the title *scribe atque notarius Pisani communis in Cipro*, that is the scribe and notary of the Pisan community in Cyprus. Italians from Milan may have also resided in Limassol, for a notarial deed drawn up by Lamberto di Sambuceto on 5 April 1297 makes reference to the will of a certain Andrea Medius of Milan who made a bequest in Limassol of 87 white bezants, to be given to Francisco Cocarellus, a resident of Nicosia.³²

The Ligurian maritime republic of Genoa was also present in the city and diocese of Limassol. Genoa gained commercial privileges from King Henry I of Cyprus in return for the naval support it offered him during the civil war on the island between the supporters of the Ibelin noble faction with whom the king sided and those of the German Emperor Frederick II. In the treaty of 1232 that Genoa concluded with King Henry I, it gained the *casale* of Despoyre in the diocese of Limassol along with its rights, serfs, incomes, and estates. But Genoa also acquired facilities in the town of Limassol, these being certain houses and a tower in the coastal part of town. The houses and the tower were in the vicinity of the royal customs house and the "public way," probably the royal road of the Byzantine emperors mentioned earlier in connection with the meeting between King Richard I of England and the Cypriot ruler Isaac Comnenus. The houses granted to the Genoese in the treaty of 1232 are specifically described as habitable and in good condition, and so suitable for the residence of Genoese consuls and assistant consuls. These consuls and assistant consuls were also granted the important privilege of having ovens constructed for baking bread throughout the

loggias that they had in the various towns of Cyprus. Through this privilege they acquired independence from outside suppliers in fulfilling the basic needs of their communes, and it was later contracted out to private Genoese individuals. Following the confiscation of Venetian properties in Cyprus, which has been already mentioned, the Genoese commune also acquired a house in Limassol formerly belonging to a Venetian named Viviano Bononi.³³

Provençal merchants are recorded as owning property in Limassol in the Venetian report mentioned earlier, an indication that the city attracted merchants from lands other than Italy. Provençals in Limassol possessed a house and two shops previously belonging to the Venetian Vitale Venier.³⁴ An incomplete Venetian portolan, probably drawn up in around 1270, charts the itinerary of a voyage from Acre to Europe via Cyprus. It mentions Limassol but not Paphos or Famagusta, and this mention of Limassol indicates the existence of mercantile and seagoing links between this Cypriot port and Acre. Additional evidence for such contacts is that according to the Venetian commercial handbook titled *Zibaldone da Canal. Manuscritto mercantile del sec. XIV*, similar weights and measures were in use in both cities prior to 1291. Limassol is described as the principal port of Cyprus in the references found in *Zibaldone* and it should be noted in this context that the commerce between Limassol and other Mediterranean ports in the thirteenth century is best described as short distance trade. Nutmeg, saffron, and spices such as pepper were imported from nearby Acre. During the 1270s Limassol also developed trade with Laiazzo, the main port of the kingdom of Cilician Armenia. In a notarial deed of April 1279, the Genoese merchant Pietro di Giusulfo appointed Ottobuono Picamiglio and his two brothers as his procurators, listing a certain Arancio of Limassol among the witnesses. Arancio was clearly a merchant resident in Limassol and with commercial dealings in Laiazzo.³⁵

The Catalans on Cyprus also had commercial dealings involving the port of Limassol. On 26 May 1299, Guglielmo de Carato of Barcelona, the captain of a galley belonging to Raymond Marchettus of Barcelona promised the Catalan consul of Cyprus, Bartolomeo Basterius, and some Catalan merchants on board his ship, to have merchandise of theirs transported from Famagusta to Barcelona via Aigues Mortes, together with a separate consignment of cotton and pepper, probably originating from Syria. The ship's captain was prepared to make a stop at Limassol if the consul and merchants on board so desired, and he was also willing to have their goods transported from Limassol to Famagusta free of charge. This makes it clear that the Catalan consul and merchants had goods in Limassol, perhaps in a warehouse near the port, although the deed does not state what these goods were.³⁶ Nevertheless, various goods were traded in Limassol in the later thirteenth century. Oil and grain from Apulia, where the Venetians had developed intense commercial activity during the second half of the thirteenth century, were also imported to Limassol. Resin, indigo, and laudanum were all exported from Limassol during this period. The extraction and exportation of salt and of salted fish from the salt-lake of Akrotiri near Limassol is first recorded in the mid-fourteenth century, but it may have commenced in the thirteenth century. The Cypriot chronicler Florio Bustron, writing in the later sixteenth century when

Cyprus was under Venice, could still praise Limassol as being located on a beautiful site, with perfect water and excellent air and with a lake producing fish, especially the so-called *dorade*, in abundance. It had excellent falcons and hunting dogs, wine, oil, and timber. Its coastline could accommodate many ships and was a suitable place for trade with Syria and Alexandria in Egypt.³⁷ The qualities that had made Limassol attractive to merchants and settlers in the thirteenth century were still being evoked in the later sixteenth century.

Notes

- 1 *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, ed. Margaret Ruth Morgan (Paris, 1982), 112–17; “The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre,” in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade, Sources in Translation*, ed. and trans. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot, 1996), 100–2; *Chronicle of the Third Crusade, A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. and trans. Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1997), 182–83; *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise’s Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, eds. and trans. Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, 2 vols. (Woodbridge, 2003), vol. 1, 22–23 (text), vol. 2, 50–51 (trans).
- 2 *Conquest of Jerusalem*, 176, 7a.
- 3 “Old French Continuation,” 102–3.
- 4 *Itinerarium*, 5–12.
- 5 *Itinerarium*, 182–85.
- 6 *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, 2–3, 12–13 and 52–53 (trans.); *Itinerarium*, 6–7 and 12–13.
- 7 *Itinerarium*, 11.
- 8 *Itinerarium*, 190 and 195; *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, 33–34 (text), 61 (trans.); Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), 185.
- 9 Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852–1861), vol. 2, 36; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christo nato 1198 ad annum 1304*, comp. Augustus Potthast, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1874–1875), no. 5587; “L’estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquête de la terre d’Outremer,” in *RHC Oc*, vol. 2, 321–26.
- 10 Hans Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford, 1990³), 221–25; Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel, “Limassol under Latin Rule 1191–1571,” in *Lemesos: A History of Limassol in Cyprus from Antiquity to the Ottoman Conquest*, eds. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel (Newcastle, 2015), 204.
- 11 “L’estoire de Eracles,” 345–46, variant mss. C, D and G; Chronique d’Enoul et de Bernard le Trésorier, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), 429–30; George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1940–1952), vol. 2, 86–87 and note 4.
- 12 “L’estoire de Eracles,” 363–64; Mayer, *Crusades*, 233–37; Hill, *History*, vol. 2, 94.
- 13 Edbury, *Kingdom*, 74–75 and note 1; Alan Forey, “Cyprus as a base for Crusading Expeditions from the West,” in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), 70.
- 14 Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, ed. and trans. Jacques Monfrin (Paris, 2010), 63–73, Chapters 125–48; Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Margaret R.B. Shaw (London, 1963), 196–201; Hill, *History*, vol. 2, 140–46.
- 15 Forey, “Cyprus as a Base,” 72–73; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 75; Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), 152–54.
- 16 Edbury, *Kingdom*, 89–91; Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk–Ilkhanid War 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995), 124–25.
- 17 *Chypre dans les sources arabes médiévales*, trans. Tahar Mansouri (Nicosia, 2001), 56–58, 61, 81–82 and 113; *The ‘Templar of Tyre’ Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’*,

- ed. Paul Crawford (Aldershot, 2003), 67; Hill, *History*, vol. 2, 167; Peter W. Edbury, *The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and its Muslim Neighbours* (Nicosia, 1993), 13; Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Peter M. Holt (Harlow, 1987), 207 and 218 note 111.
- 18 Thorau, *Lion of Egypt*, 207 and 218 notes 110–12; *Chypre dans les sources arabes*, 57, 61 and 81.
- 19 *Chypre dans les sources arabes*, 50–51.
- 20 *Documenti del commercio veneziano ai secoli XI–XIII*, eds. Raimondo Morozzo della Rocca and Antonio Lombardo, 2 vols. (Torino, 1940), vol. 1, 77–78; *Il compasso da navigare. Opera italiana metà nel secolo XIII*, ed. Bacchisio R. Motzo (Cagliari, 1947), 126–27; Konrad Kretschmer, *Die Italienische Portolane des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kartographie und Nautik* (Berlin, 1909), 199, 201 and 235.
- 21 Tassos Papacostas, “Secular Landholdings and Venetians in 12th-Century Cyprus,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 92/2 (1999): 487–88.
- 22 Eutychia Papadopoulou, “Hoi protes engatastaseis Veneton sten Kypro,” *Symmeikta* 5 (1983): 305 and 309.
- 23 Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1992), 52–53 and 59; Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1195–1312* (Aldershot, 1997), 123–25.
- 24 Papadopoulou, “Hoi protes engatastaseis,” 309, 311–14, 324 and 327.
- 25 Papadopoulou, “Hoi protes engatastaseis,” 309 and 311–12.
- 26 Papadopoulou, “Hoi protes engatastaseis,” 311, 313–14, 324, 327–28 and 330–31; *Cart Hosp*, vol. 2, no. 1354.
- 27 *Cart Hosp*, vol. 2, no. 1354.
- 28 Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, “Limassol under Latin Rule,” 229; *Lacrimae Cypriae: Les larmes de Chypre*, ed. B. Imhaus, 2 vols. (Nicosia, 2004), vol. 1, nos. 554–55.
- 29 *RRH Add*, no. 755a; Papadopoulou, “Hoi protes engatastaseis,” 310 and 312.
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- 34 Papadopoulou, “Hoi protes engatastaseis,” 311.
- 35 David Jacoby, “To emporio kai he oikonomia tes Kyprou,” in *Historia tes Kyprou*, vol. 4, *Mesaionikon Basileion, Henetokratia*, ed. Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 1995), 397–98; *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Laiazzo da Federico di Piazzalunga (1274) e Pietro di Bargone (1277, 1279)*, ed. Laura Balletto, *Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi* 53 (Genoa, 1989), no. 118.
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11 Arab Christian refugees in Lusignan Cyprus during the thirteenth century

Pictorial impact and evidence*

Geoffrey Meyer-Fernandez

When Guy de Lusignan became Lord of Cyprus in May 1192,¹ Byzantine painting was flourishing on the island. The famous wall paintings at the Church of the *Panagia Arakiotissa* in Lagoudera were completed eight months later, in December of that year. Commissioned by the “lord” (αυθέντης) Leon, the fresco cycle is one of the best examples of late Comnenian monumental painting to be preserved from the Byzantine world.² In Cyprus, the masterpieces produced before and at the moment of the Latin establishment were used as models for local painters who worked during the thirteenth century.³ Only a few noteworthy changes occurred in the insular pictorial production during the first three quarters of that century. Patrons continued to commission wall paintings in the Comnenian style and iconography. The monumental programme of the Archangel Michael at Kato Lefkara is characteristic of that continuity.⁴ Executed around the 1220s, it reflects features of Cyprus’s earlier twelfth-century Byzantine tradition. The name of the main donor – the priest Michail tou Pilea – appears in a prayer placed on the central register of the apse. This place had already been chosen a century earlier (1105–1106) by Nikephoros Ischyrios, the patron of the *Panagia Phorbiotissa* church at Asinou.⁵ Also, the *Mandylion* depicted over the south door at Kato Lefkara finds its roots in local tradition. The iconography, the style and the location of this composition seem to imitate the Holy tile that was painted at Lagoudera around 30 years previously.⁶ The Church of the *Panagia Amasgou* at Monagri, adorned in part in the early twelfth century, was embellished by a new cycle, probably around 1220. Like those of Kato Lefkara, the paintings of Monagri post-date the crusader conquest by a generation and show the continuity of the Comnenian style.⁷

As a former Byzantine island, Cyprus remained mostly populated by Greeks after the Frankish settlement of 1192.⁸ The Latins, exclusively represented by Italians before the Franks’ arrival,⁹ became more numerous and varied. Political power was in the hands of the Frankish settlers.¹⁰ Before the Lusignans arrived on the island, eastern Christians were already present. The Armenians were probably the largest minority group, followed by the Maronites, and the Christian Syrians of various rites. However, eastern Christians from various social strata became increasingly numerous in Cyprus after the takeover by Guy de Lusignan.¹¹ The first wave of immigrants must be placed in the period immediately following the Franks’ arrival. With the coming of the Lusignans, the Maronites and Syrians (Orthodox, Jacobite, and Nestorian) became the largest ethnic groups after the Greeks and the Latins.¹²

Artists and craftspeople were certainly part of those newcomers. A French version of Guillaume de Tyr's *Historia* copied at Acre around 1280,¹³ whose author used Ernoul's chronicle – a Frank from Syria who obtained properties in Cyprus and a contemporary of the island's conquest¹⁴ – mentions Arabic-speaking “masons” and “scribes” who went to Cyprus during Guy de Lusignan's rule, motivated by economic reasons.¹⁵ The population movement continued and incoming refugees must have been particularly numerous in the second half of the thirteenth century, following the loss of Christian-held cities in Syria and Palestine to the Muslims. The last and more important population movement is the one that occurred after the fall of Acre in 1291.¹⁶ The non-Latin inhabitants from the crusader ports of Syria crowded into Famagusta. These people, mostly Arabic-speaking Christians, may well have outnumbered the city's Greek population.¹⁷ At the same time, Cypriot painting started to change. Although it was still rooted in the Comnenian artistic production, the local production gained a more predominant eastern flavour through the massive influx of settlers from the Holy Land during the last quarter of the thirteenth century. This impact appears, first of all, in the style. It is easily discernible by comparing, for instance, the midwife bathing the new-born Jesus painted in the Nativity scene in Lagoudera (1192),¹⁸ with the same figure depicted in Moutoullas' church (1280)¹⁹ (Figure 11.1).

The position and the iconography of the two midwives are similar. However, the style of the midwife represented at Moutoullas is completely different from the one at Lagoudera. The dominant stylistic features at Moutoullas are a decorative linearity, a two-dimensional rendering of body and draperies, a standardised manner

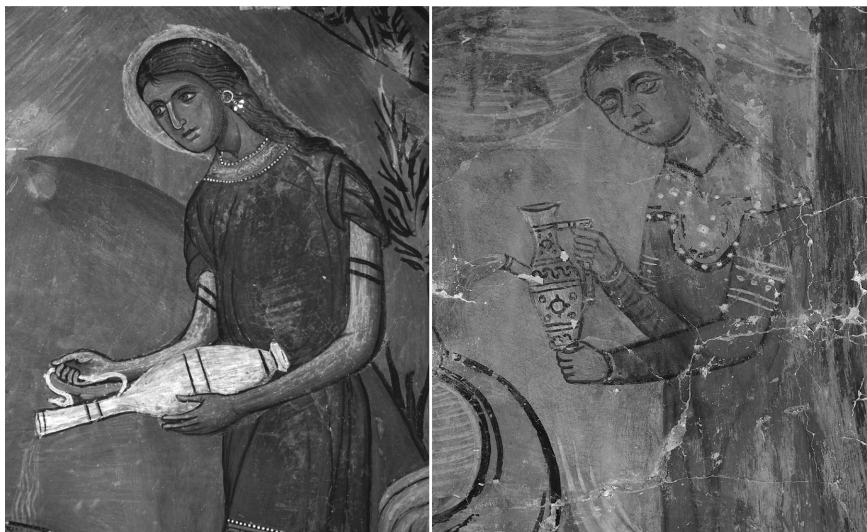


Figure 11.1 Lagoudera, Church of the *Panagia Arakiotissa*, detail of the Nativity of Christ, 1192/Moutoullas, Church of the *Panagia*, detail of the Nativity of Christ, 1280

Source: Author.

of rendering the eyes resulting in a staring gaze, and rather flat facial modelling in subdued tones. The style of the midwife of Moutoullas, or that of the archangel Gabriel depicted in the same cycle,²⁰ are particularly close to the Salome depicted in the Lebanese Church of *Saydet al-Haqle* in Bsarma (c.1260).²¹ The development of simplified, schematic, and linear stylistic trends has also been observed in other Latin-held Byzantine provinces, such as the Peloponnese and Attica.²² Nevertheless, the modification of style in Cyprus must have been a result of the eastern Christians' arrival on the island. They brought a style developed in the Levant: the so-called "*maniera syriaca*."²³ This style was most certainly promoted by the Latin refugees fleeing from the Muslims' advance. In the Holy Land, Franks often hired eastern Christian artists. Several paintings from various media demonstrate this: the mosaics of Bethlehem basilica which retain the bilingual (Latin and Syriac) signature of one of its executors, the Arab Christian deacon Basilius (c.1167–1169);²⁴ the frescoes of the *Crac des Chevaliers* and Margat fortresses (late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries);²⁵ and the Sinai icon showing Saint Sergius and a female suppliant (1260s)²⁶ (Figure 11.2, right).

The Syrians from the crusader states of the Holy Land once established in Cyprus, maintained a favoured status and close ties with the Franks.²⁷ Regarding the artistic production, Annemarie Weyl Carr has shown that the "Frankish patrons [of the island] had adopted eastern Christian forms."²⁸ A recently referenced icon²⁹ nicely demonstrates this promotion of the "*maniera syriaca*" by the insular Latin community (Figure 11.3). Currently housed at the Museum of the Foundation of

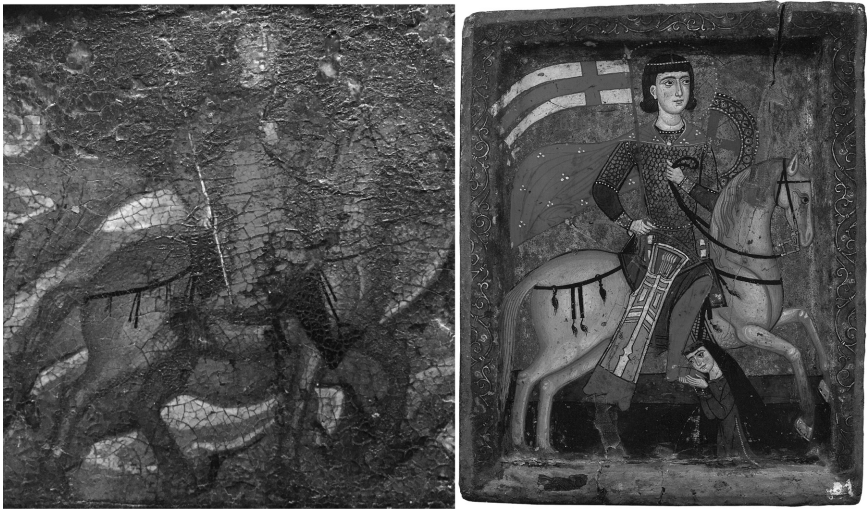


Figure 11.2 Kyperounta, museum of the Holy Cross, detail of the icon of Saint Marina with scenes of her life, second half of the thirteenth century/Sinai, monastery of Saint Catherine, icon of Saint Sergius with a female suppliant, 1260s

Source: Left author/Right by permission of Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt. Photograph courtesy of Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai.



Figure 11.3 Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, icon of the Nativity of Christ with a female supplicant, end of the thirteenth century

Source: Courtesy of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation.

Archbishop Makarios III in Nicosia, the panel comes from the Holy Archbishop of Cyprus's collection without any knowledge of its original context of exhibition. However, details displayed on the painting provide some insights into its commission. The icon represents the Nativity of Christ. An anonymous female supplicant appears in the lower left portion of the scene (Figure 11.3, right).

She wears a long scarlet dress with tightly fitted, wrist-length sleeves: the so-called *cotte*. This coloured garment, which appears in this form in France from the thirteenth century onwards, seems to have been in fashion among Latin women in Cyprus at the end of that century.³⁰ The woman's kneeling position and her upright posture with hands clasped in prayer is typical in western Christian iconography.³¹ Nonetheless, the evidence of her religious affiliation is seen in the *paternoster* beads that she carries. "They were prayer mnemonics, used by monks and laypeople of the Roman-rite who did not know enough Latin to recite a full complement of psalms and prayers and were thus encouraged (or required) to repeat the Lord's Prayer instead."³² The female patron commissioned her icon, not from a Cypriot painter, but apparently from an eastern Christian who came from the mainland. The style of the painting clearly belongs to the "*maniera syriaca*" trend. The face of Jesus who is placed in his bath recalls the one of Saint Theodore depicted in *Mar Tadros* Lebanese Church of Bahdeidat (c.1250–1270).³³ The old shepherd's figure closely resembles the apostle Mark, painted in the Syrian monastery of *Mar Yakub* at Qara (before 1266)³⁴ (Figure 11.4).



Figure 11.4 Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, detail of the icon of the Nativity of Christ with a female suppliant, end of the thirteenth century/Qara, monastery of *Mar Yakub*, detail of the apostle Mark, before 1266

Source: Left courtesy of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation/Right Mat Immerzeel/Paul van Moorsel Centre, VU Amsterdam.

The manner in which the donor is integrated into the sacred scene is a practice shared by paintings from various media executed in the County of Tripoli and the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia between the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century. For example, in the Dormition fresco at the Maronite Church of Maad, a priest is depicted praying to the right of the Jew Jephonias (c.1250–1270).³⁵ In the Nativity miniature of the priest Andreas's Gospels, the Cilician illuminator Sargis Pidsak has represented an Armenian princess pouring the water into Jesus's bath and another one praying behind her (1336).³⁶ Queen Mariun's Gospels – another manuscript painted by the same artist – show a similar pouring princess included in the scene of the Nativity; the same girl is spreading a garment under the feet of the donkey in the miniature of the Entry into Jerusalem; and the queen herself is praying at the foot of the cross in the depiction of the Deposition (1346).³⁷ As in these eastern paintings, the donor of the Cypriot icon is depicted at the same scale as the sacred figures. In addition, the crowns worn by the Magi resemble the iconographic type figured in works of crusader and Cilician art. Similar three-pointed-edge crowns adorned with *fleur-de-lys* motives appear in several miniatures of the *Histoire Ancienne jusqu'à César* produced in Acre for a Frankish audience (c.1285),³⁸ in the frontispiece of the Armenian

translation of the *Assises* of Antioch showing King Lewon IV (1331);³⁹ and in the miniature of the aforementioned Cilician Gospels executed for the priest Andreas (1336). The reason why the Latin patron sent for an eastern Christian could probably be explained by the fact that the Syrian population of Cyprus was closely associated with the Frankish settlers during the thirteenth century. Moreover, the very theme of the icon – that is the Nativity – may have prompted the Frankish lady to call upon a painter from the Holy Land. A confraternity of “Saint George and Bethlehem” based in Acre before its fall in 1291 is attested by textual sources. Its members were Melkites placed under the protection of the military saint and the shrine of the Nativity. We do not know if this corporation was specifically attached to the pilgrimage to Lydda and Bethlehem or to the maintenance of these two *loci sancti*.⁴⁰ However, one may wonder if that confraternity, whose members lived in the former capital of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem from where many refugees left for Cyprus, included painters specialised in depicting subjects related to Saint George and the Nativity of Christ. Once installed on the island, such artists could have been hired by Frankish patrons also coming from Acre.

In addition to the style, iconography, and content are two areas through which eastern Christians introduced new ideas into Cypriot pictorial production. We are indebted to several scholars who have already collected painted evidence showing the movement of artistic conventions into Cyprus from the mainland. Weyl Carr has pointed out that the inclusion of the *manus Dei*, issuing from a segment of heaven in the upper right corner of Saint George on horseback’s depiction at the Church of Moutoullas, (1280) is paralleled only in monuments of Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt.⁴¹ She has also underlined that the white horse painted in the Cypriot Church of Sotera has the same *beta*-shape bit as the horses depicted on two icons from Sinai that have been attributed to a Syrian painter from the County of Tripoli (1260s)⁴² (Figure 11.2, right). The motive also appears on the unpublished fresco of Saint George at the homonymous Church of Choulou (Paphos district).⁴³ It was already employed by the Arab painter-monk Sarkis ibn Gali ibn Barran who depicted Saint Bacchus in the Syrian monastery of *Deir Mar Musa al-Habashi* near Nebek (1208–1209).⁴⁴ Weyl Carr has demonstrated that the triumphal arch of the *Panagia Phorbiotissa* at Asinou (last quarter of the thirteenth century) – with its representation of John of Damascus associated with the Sacrifice of Isaac – reflects a trend rooted in Syrian and Coptic monumental tradition.⁴⁵ It seems that some decorative patterns were also introduced into Cypriot production from the mainland. Thus, the cycle of Moutoullas displays sacred figures placed underneath an arcade decorated with an interlacing pattern which is widespread in the ornamental repertoire of the Lebanese and Syrian churches during the thirteenth century.⁴⁶ In the Cypriot monument, Saint George is represented riding a horse and killing a dragon with his spear. The dragon’s appearance is particularly interesting. It is a hybrid creature depicted as a snake from the waist down and as a crowned human being for the upper part of its body and head. After Doula Mouriki, who has suggested that this iconography reveals a connection with the Georgian tradition,⁴⁷ Nina Iamanidzé has recently argued that the Moutoullas fresco would have been of “Georgian influence.”⁴⁸ It is true that Georgian representations of holy

horsemen killing dragons are attested since the early Christian period, and that images of Saint George slaying a sovereign (sometimes identified with Diocletian) are widespread in Georgia from the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁴⁹ In addition, a Georgian monastic community founded at Gialia (Paphos district) during the tenth century was worshipping the military saint since the late eleventh or early twelfth century. The *Panagia Chrysogialiotissa* was restored at the beginning of the thirteenth century, apparently with Queen Tamar's patronage. Between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, the monastery received a mural representation of a holy horseman – certainly George – holding his lance down, most certainly in order to strike down an enemy.⁵⁰ But the seductive hypothesis of a "Georgian influence" on the paintings of Moutoullas has its limitations. To my knowledge, no image of a holy horseman striking a half-man, half-snake creature with his spear is documented in medieval Georgia. By contrast, however, one can find the same iconographic feature in the Levantine regions of Egypt, Lebanon, and Cappadocia. Examples include the representation of Saint Theodore in a manuscript from Fayoum (early tenth century);⁵¹ the same subject painted in *Mar Tadros* Lebanese Church of Bahdeidat (c.1250–1270);⁵² and the fragmentary fresco depicting Saint George in the homonymous church at Ortaköy (thirteenth century).⁵³ Finally, the epithet of George at Moutoullas, who refers to him as "Ο ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΞ" ("the Cappadocian"), suggests that the iconographic model used by the painter has its origins in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. D. Mouriki was probably correct when writing that the Cypriot fresco is dependent on "Eastern iconographic models."⁵⁴

As these scholars have done, I would like to add further pictorial evidence supporting the movement of artistic conventions into Cyprus from the mainland. Some impact of painting by eastern Christians can be seen in the Cypriot *vita* icon of Saint Marina that comes from the homonymous church at Kyperounta. Commissioned by a Greek monk named Markos whose prayer is written on the lower right-hand side of the central composition, the painting shows the saint's portrait surrounded by 12 episodes of her martyrdom.⁵⁵ The first scene of the narration, placed on the top left-hand corner of the frame, depicts the meeting between Marina and the governor Olybrios on horseback. Both the figures of the ruler and his horse recall the Saint Sergius's effigy painted on the aforementioned Sinaitic icon that has been attributed to a Syrian Christian painter from the County of Tripoli (1260s)⁵⁶ (Figure 11.2). Another painted panel from Saint Catherine's monastery shares several iconographic elements that appear in Cypriot pictorial production carried out during the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Painted around 1300, it has been attributed to an Armenian painter from Cilicia. It represents the Nativity at the bottom of the composition and the Crucifixion above.⁵⁷ Both the starry backgrounds and the rampant lion displayed on Longinus's shield with a red background appear in the fresco cycle of Saint Herakleidios Church in the monastery of Saint John Lampadistes at Kalopanayiotis (c.1265–1280).⁵⁸ Similar schematic sketching and the monochrome manner of representing horned animals in the Nativity composition are adopted for the same scene at the *Panagia* of Moutoullas (1280).⁵⁹ In addition, the seated cross-legged posture adopted by the

shepherd playing music in the Nativity scene of the Sinaitic icon is encountered in the Church of *Panagia Phorbiotissa* at Asinou (last quarter of the thirteenth century). One of the two youths accompanied by the grazing donkey, and associated with the scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac, adopts this position. As previously mentioned, the triumphal arch's programme of this Cypriot church has been linked to eastern Christian tradition.⁶⁰ To my knowledge, this is the first appearance of that specific iconography in the island's pictorial production. The seated cross-legged posture was shared by several cultures of the Mediterranean East. One can find it in many artworks of various media and contexts from Egypt to Cilicia in the thirteenth century. Some notable examples include: a screen showing two musicians on the Coptic wooden screen removed from the Church of *Sitt Barbara* in Old Cairo (eleventh century);⁶¹ two miniatures of the *Histoire Ancienne jusqu'à César* copied in Acre for Franks (c.1285);⁶² the representation of the Judgment of Caiaphas from a Syriac Gospel Lectionary (c.1216–1220);⁶³ a basin made in Syria by the coppersmith Dawud ibn Salama al-Mawsili (1252–1253);⁶⁴ and the miniature of the Feeding of the Five Thousand attributed to the Cilician Armenian painter T'oros Roslin and his assistants in a manuscript commissioned by the Prince Vasak (c.1268).⁶⁵ It should be noted that, like the two latter examples, the mural of Asinou represents a character seated in cross-legged posture associated with another one who is on his knees.

In Lusignan Cyprus, the first known paintings carried out by eastern artists for an oriental Christian sanctuary are preserved in Famagusta, the former island's main port that accommodated a multitude of Arabic-speaking Christians at the end of the thirteenth century.⁶⁶ They were made for the Syriac-rite – probably Maronite – church known as Saint George *Exorinos*.⁶⁷ The best-preserved frescoed panel of the oldest murals is placed on the western wall, to the left of the door (Figure 11.5). Executed around 1300, it represents three standing saints: Paraskeve flanked by Nuhra and an unidentified monk. The composition has stylistic features which point to connections with the Syro-Lebanese mainland. Again, we encounter the tendency for simplification, schematisation, and linearity that has been previously mentioned. Furthermore, Saint Nuhra is a martyr worshipped exclusively in the

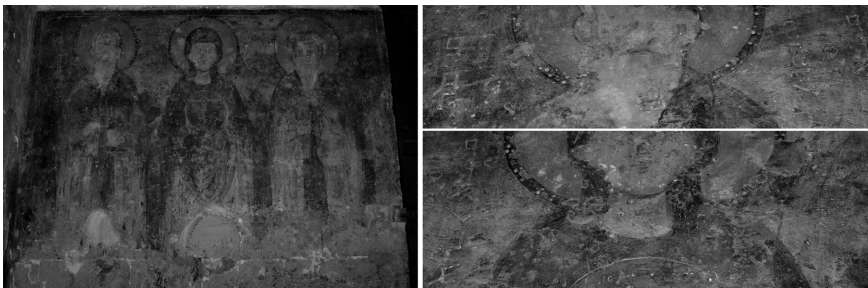


Figure 11.5 Famagusta, Church of Saint George *Exorinos*, Saints Nuhra, Paraskeve, and an unidentified monastic saint, c.1300/details of the mural

Source: Author.

predominantly Maronite districts of Jubail and Batroun, in present-day Lebanon. However, the most significant elements are the inscriptions which identify the sacred figures. They are written in *estrangelo* script, a type of writing employed in the thirteenth century by almost all the Arabic Christian communities which practised the Syriac-rite. The artist who carried out the mural painting has been identified by Michele Bacci as a "refugee from the Syrian coast."⁶⁸ So, as soon as they had settled in Famagusta, some eastern Christians built their own church and embellished it with the work of their own painters, using eastern artistic trends and Syriac inscriptions in their compositions. The Cypriot coastal city has one more former shrine that can be related to another oriental rite: The Nestorian. Several textual sources dating back to the Genoese period (fifteenth century) claim that a Syrian Christian merchant (sometimes referred to as Nestorian) living in Famagusta, erected on his own, a church dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul out of part of the profit he had made during a trading venture to Syria at the time of King Peter I's rule (1359–1369). It has been identified with the large monument (presently known by its Turkish name, *Sinan Paşa Camii*) situated at the southwest of the Lusignan palace. During restorations carried out inside the edifice in the 1930s, a Syriac monumental inscription was discovered on the plastered interior. It mentions an unspecified act of patronage completed in 1351–1352. If the monument is the one referenced in the medieval textual sources, this would mean that the Syrian merchant erected his church on the site of an earlier eastern-rite shrine. This could very well be the oriental-rite church mentioned in Famagusta at least from 1301.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, its original mural paintings have almost entirely disappeared.⁷⁰ It is therefore unclear if this former church ever received a monumental cycle executed by an eastern Christian artist.

Cypriot painting has always shared common features with the artistic production of the Middle East due to the island's geographical position. However, during the second half of the thirteenth century, the establishment of refugees from the Holy Land played a key role in developing the eastern flavour of the insular pictorial production. This change can be seen in the preserved mural paintings and icons not only from urban centres and their suburbs but also from isolated mountainous regions of the Lusignan Kingdom. Evidence from rural areas has not yet been fully surveyed and work remains to be done. Thus, the Arabic inscriptions on the reverse side of two icons (end of the thirteenth century) housed at the monastery of Saint John Lampadistes at Kalopanayiotis, situated in the heart of Troodos, remain to be studied and published.⁷¹ As shown simultaneously by the painted panel housed at the Byzantine Museum of Nicosia, the Moutoullas cycle, the icon of Kyperounta, and the frescoes preserved in Saint George *Exorinos*, the stylistic change towards the "*maniera syriaca*" was promoted by the same intensity by all the Cypriot patrons, irrespective of their ethnic origins, religious affiliation, or social position. The capacity to adapt, the mobility, as well as the privileged status of the eastern Christians can possibly explain both why they have been especially attractive to Latins and Greeks and why they had such a strong impact on the island's painting production. Once established in Cyprus, eastern Christians occupied prominent posts in the royal administration and played a key role

in trade, an area in which they excelled and which ultimately made them rich. The wealth of some Syrians is attested by various textual sources, which attribute the building of churches to them.⁷² They commissioned tombstones⁷³ and hired artists from their own communities for the decoration of their sanctuaries. A specific preserved icon mostly illustrates the magnitude of pictorial commissions made by eastern Christians established in the Lusignan Kingdom after the loss of the Holy Land by the crusaders. Housed at the *Phaneromeni* church in Nicosia, it depicts Saint George on horseback, flanked by episodes of his martyrdom. This painted panel was obviously commissioned by an eastern Christian – probably a Melkite – who appears as a suppliant wearing a turban and a belt in the lower left part of the central composition.⁷⁴ With its impressive size (2.15 * 1.9 m), this painting compares very favourably with the two known panels commissioned in Cyprus around 1300 by the Latin elite, both lay and cleric.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the *Phaneromeni* icon should be dated between the beginning and the third quarter of the fourteenth century, when the eastern Christian merchants of Cyprus were the richest people in the kingdom. Consequently, this panel exceeds our survey's chronological limits and is particularly deserving of a proper study.⁷⁶

Notes

- * I would like to thank Ioanna Rapti for her very valuable remarks and Nick Marriner for his English editing. My gratitude is also extended to the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation for its courtesy. I am indebted to the A.G. Leventis Foundation for its grant.
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- 2 Andréas Nicolaïdès, “L’église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudéra, Chypre: études iconographiques des fresques de 1192,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996): 1–137; David and June Winfield, *The Church of the Panaghia tou Arakos at Lagoudhera, Cyprus: The Paintings and their Painterly Significance* (Washington, DC, 2003).
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- 4 Athanasios Papageorgiou, “Η εκκλησία του Αρχαγγέλου στα Κάτω Λεύκαρα,” *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* (1990): 189–230.
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- 6 Nicolaïdès, "L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa," 133, pl. 2, figure 2; Winfield and Winfield, *The Church of the Panaghia tou Arakos*, 38, 191–92, Text Figure 3 (n° 72), pl. 3, figure 7, 188.
- 7 Susan Boyd, "The Church of the Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, Cyprus, and Its Wall-paintings," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 276–328, at 291–323.
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- 10 On the Franks, see Peter W. Edbury, "Franks," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, eds. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel (Leiden, 2005), 63–101.
- 11 Gilles Grivaud, "Les minorités orientales à Chypre (époque médiévale et moderne)," in *Chypre et la Méditerranée orientale: formations identitaires, perspectives historiques et enjeux contemporains*, eds. Yannis Ioannou et al. (Paris, 2000), 43–69, at 44–45, 48, 50–51, 53, 62.
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- 13 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 828.
- 14 On Ernoul, see Gilles Grivaud, *Entrelacs chiprois: essai sur les lettres et la vie intellectuelle dans le royaume de Chypre, 1191–1570* (Nicosia, 2009), 57, 99–100.
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- 16 Fenoy, *Chypre île refuge*, 1: 78–102, 127–34, 163–76.
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- 18 Nicolaïdès, "L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa," 76–77, fig. 63.
- 19 Doula Mouriki, "The Wall Paintings of the Church of the Panagia at Moutoullas, Cyprus," in *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des Europäischen Mittelalters*, ed. Irmgard Hutter (Vienna, 1984), 171–214, at 185, pl. LXXVIII, fig. 13.
- 20 Mouriki, "The Wall Paintings," 175, pl. LXXII–LXXIII, fig. 2, 4.
- 21 Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon* (Wiesbaden, 2004), 154, pl. XCIV, 395, 397–98, pl. 25.3, 25.5.
- 22 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212–1388): Latin and Greek Patronage," in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, eds. Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis and Peter Lock (Leiden, 2015), 369–417, at 369–406, 414–17.
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- 24 Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Art and Colonialism: The Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of 'Crusader' Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 69–85, at 74–76, 85, fig. 2; Michele Bacci, *The Mystic Cave: A History of the Nativity Church of Bethlehem* (Roma, 2017), 146–51, fig. 37.
- 25 Mat Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles: Medieval Christian Art in Syria and Lebanon* (Leuven, 2009), 75–76, 218–19, 287, pl. 46–48, 126. The style of these paintings has been considered to be a "reminiscence" of the one of the Arab painter-monk Sarkis ibn Gali ibn Barran who executed the mural cycle in the Syrian monastery Church of *Deir Mar*

- Musa al-Habashi* near Nebek (1208–1209): Ibidem, 76. On Sarkis's programme, see Ibidem, 64–67, 197, 199–202, 208–11, pl. 21, 23–26, 33–37.
- 26 *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (23 March–4 July 2004), ed. Helen C. Evans (New York, 2004), 374, n° 229 (entry by Jaroslav Folda). The icon has been attributed to a Syrian eastern Christian painter from the County of Tripoli: Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, 127–28 (with earlier references on n. 14), 131, 273, pl. 110; Rebecca W. Corrie, "Sinai, Acre, Tripoli, and the 'Backwash from the Levant': Where Did the Icon Painters Work?," in *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at Saint Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai, Symposium organised by the J. Paul Getty Museum and the University of California, Los Angeles, Getty Museum (26–27 January 2007)*, eds. Sharon E.J. Gerstel and Robert S. Nelson (Turnhout, 2010), 415–48, at 417–18 (with earlier bibliography on n. 5–7).
 - 27 Jean Richard, "Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIII^e siècle," in *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs: Les perspectives orientales du monde latin médiéval*, ed. Idem (London, 1983), art. VII, 157–73, at 166–72.
 - 28 Weyl Carr, "Art," 300–1.
 - 29 Maniera Cypria, *The Cypriot Painting of the 13th Century Between Two Worlds*, Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, ed. Ioannis A. Eliades (19 January–31 July 2017) (Nicosia, 2017), 91, fig. 33.
 - 30 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "The Murals of the Narthex: The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and the Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, eds. Annemarie Weyl Carr and Andréas Nicolaïdès (Washington, DC, 2012), 115–208, at 125.
 - 31 Kalopissi-Verti, "The Murals of the Narthex," 124–25 (with earlier references on n. 46).
 - 32 Linda Safran, *The Medieval Salento: Art and Identity in Southern Italy* (Philadelphia PA, 2014), 167.
 - 33 Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, 101–5, 232, 234, pl. 65, 67.
 - 34 Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, 69–71, 215, pl. 43.
 - 35 Michele Bacci, "Images « votives » et portraits de donateurs au Levant au Moyen Âge tardif," in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin*, Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Fribourg, Fribourg (13–15 mars 2008), eds. Jean-Michel Spieser and Élisabeth Yota (Paris, 2012), 293–305, at 301–2, fig. 8.
 - 36 Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 5786, fol. 17r: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC, 1993), 1:142–50, 152, 2:fig. 597.
 - 37 Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 1973, fols. 8v, 114r and 258v: Ibidem, 1:142, 144–47, 150, 152, 160, 2:figs. 598–99, 650.
 - 38 London, British Library, MS Add. 15268, fols. 56v, 58r, 71r, 75v, 81v, 105v, 123r, 179v, 214v: Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), XIX–XXI, 79–87, 99, 150–51, pl. 86c, 95c, 96c, 103, 105c, 111, 114c, 119c, 126c.
 - 39 Venice, *San Lazzaro*, Mekhitarists's Library, MS 107, fols. 2v: Ioanna Rapti, "Featuring the King: Rituals of Coronation and Burial in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," in *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives*, eds. Alexander Beihammer et al. (Leiden, 2013), 291–335, at 306, 329, fig. 11.4.
 - 40 Jean Richard, "La confrérie des Mosserins d'Acre et les marchands de Mossoul au XIII^e siècle," in *Orient et Occident au Moyen Âge: contacts et relations (XII^e–XV^e siècle)*, ed. Idem (London, 1976), art. XI, 451–60.
 - 41 Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Iconography and Identity: Syrian Elements in the Art of Crusader Cyprus," in *Religious Origins of Nations? The Christian Communities of the Middle East*, ed. Bas ter Haar Romeny (Leiden, 2010), 127–51, at 137, fig. 5 (see n. 24 for examples).
 - 42 Idem, "Art," 301. On the attribution of the icons to an eastern Christian artist from the County of Tripoli, see note 26.

- 43 *In situ* personal observation of the author. I warmly thank Professor Kalopissi-Verti who encouraged me to visit this church and discover its unpublished frescoes.
- 44 Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, 56–59, 64–67, 209, pl. 35.
- 45 Weyl Carr, “Iconography and Identity,” 138, 140–50, figs. 8–10; Idem, “The Murals of the Bema and the Naos: The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” in *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and the Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, eds. Annemarie Weyl Carr and Andréas Nicolaïdès (Washington, DC, 2012), 213–23, figs. 6.4–6.8.
- 46 Bas Snelders and Immerzeel, “From Cyprus to Syria and Back Again: Artistic Interaction in the Medieval Levant,” *Eastern Christian Art* 9 (2012–2013): 79–106, at 83, 100–1, pl. 3, 20–21.
- 47 Mouriki, “The Wall Paintings,” 193–94, pl. LXXXIII, figs. 20–21.
- 48 Nina Iamanidzé, *Saints cavaliers. Culte et images en Géorgie aux IV^e–XI^e siècles* (Wiesbaden, 2016), 141 n. 396.
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- 51 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 613: Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés* (Paris, 1974), 188, n° XXX, pl. 107, 2.
- 52 Isabelle Doumet-Skaf et al., “Conservation of 13th Century Mural Paintings in the Church of Saint Theodore, Behdaïdat,” *Bulletin d’Archéologie et d’Architecture Libanaises* 13 (2009): 274–320, at 278–79, 314–16, figs. 65, 67–68.
- 53 Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *La Cappadoce médiévale: images et spiritualité* (Paris, 2001), 346.
- 54 Mouriki, “The Wall Paintings,” 193–94.
- 55 Titos Papamastorakis, “Pictorial Lives. Narrative in thirteenth-century Vita Icons,” *Μουσείο Μπενάκη* 7 (2007): 33–65, at 53–55, fig. 26 (with earlier bibliography on 63 n. 58).
- 56 See notes 26, 42.
- 57 *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, ed. Evans, 370, n° 226 (entry by Idem) with earlier bibliography.
- 58 Athanasios Papageorgiou, *The Monastery of Saint John Lampadistis in Kalopanayiotis* (Nicosia, 2008), 24, 26, 28, figs. 13–15, 17.
- 59 Mouriki, “The Wall Paintings,” 183–85, pl. LXXVIII, fig. 13.
- 60 See note 45.
- 61 Old Cairo, Coptic Museum: Adeline Jeudy, “Masterpieces of Medieval Coptic Woodwork in their Byzantine and Islamic Contexts: A Typological and Iconographical Study,” in *Interactions: Artistic Interchange between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2007), 120–32, at 125–29, fig. 9.
- 62 London, British Library, MS Add. 15268, fols. 1v, 181r: Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, 150–51, pl. 83, 120c.
- 63 London, British Library, MS Add. 7170, fol. 145r: Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d’Europe et d’Orient: contribution à l’étude de l’iconographie des églises de langue syriaque*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964), 1:302, 307, 310–13, 2:pl. 89, 4.
- 64 Paris, *Musée du Louvre: Les arts de l’Islam au Musée du Louvre*, ed. Sophia Makariou (Paris, 2012), 178, 180–81, fig. 119.
- 65 Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, MS 32.18, fol. 87: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 1:55–58, 112, 2:fig. 264.

66 See note 17.

67 For the church's successive phases of painting, see Michele Bacci, "Identity Markers in the Art of Fourteenth-century Famagusta," in *The Harbour of All this Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, eds. Michael J.K. Walsh, Tamás Kiss, and Nicholas S.H. Coureas (Budapest, 2014), 145–58, at 147–58, figs. 1–12; Idem, "Patterns of Church Decoration in Famagusta (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)," in *Famagusta, Volume I: Art and Architecture*, ed. Annemarie Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), 203–76, at 235–38, 248, 273–76, figs. 46, 48–52, 54 with earlier references.

68 Bacci, "Identity Markers," 151.

69 Michalis Olympios, *Building the Sacred in a Crusader Kingdom: Gothic Church Architecture in Lusignan Cyprus, c.1209–c.1373* (Turnhout, 2018), 314–15, 331 n. 693–97 with earlier references.

70 There is only one preserved small fragmentary fresco depicting haloed figures dated to the fourteenth century: Bacci, "Patterns of Church Decoration," 231, 270, fig. 40.

71 The inscriptions have been recently mentioned in Charalampos G. Chotzakoglou, "Reconsidering the 13th Century Painting in Cyprus," in *Maniera Cypria, The Cypriot Painting of the 13th Century Between Two worlds, Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation (19 January–31 July 2017)*, ed. Ioannis A. Eliades (Nicosia, 2017), 21–43, at 41 n. 161.

72 This is the case of the chronicle of Leontios Machairas (1430s); the Domenico Malipiero's one (covering the years 1457–1499); and the treatise of Francesco Attar (c.1520): Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 314, 331 n. 694–95.

73 Let us mention, for example, the fourteenth-century tombstone of Johan Zaït, burgher of Famagusta, which came from the Augustinian Church of Nicosia. It is now housed at the Limassol Medieval Museum: *Lacrimae Cypriae: les larmes de Chypre ou recueil des inscriptions lapidaires pour la plupart funéraires de la période franque et vénitienne de l'île de Chypre*, ed. Brunehilde Imhaus, 2 vols. (Nicosia, 2004), 1:151, 533, pl. 129, F. 281.

74 Michalis Olympios, "Stripped from the Altar, Recycled, Forgotten: The Altarpiece in Lusignan Cyprus," *Gesta* 53/1 (2014): 47–72, at 59–60, fig. 4 (with earlier references on n. 50); Geoffrey Meyer-Fernandez, "Se vêtir à Chypre sous les Lusignan (1192–1474): l'apport de la peinture," *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 49 (2019), 203–26, at 211–13, figure 7.

75 These are the icons from the Church of Saint Nicholas of the Roof in Kakopetria commissioned by a Frankish knight and the altarpiece depicting the Virgin of Mercy and ordered by Carmelite friars, both housed at the Museum of the Foundation of Archbishop Makarios III in Nicosia: Olympios, "Stripped from the Altar, Recycled, Forgotten," 48–50, 55, 58–60, 71, figs. 1–2 (with earlier references on n. 2).

76 A study of this panel is part of my doctoral dissertation: *Commanditaires et peintres à Chypre sous les Lusignan (1192–1474): images d'un royaume multiculturel* (Aix-Marseille Université, 2019).

12 The predicaments of Aimery de Lusignan

Baronial factionalism and the consolidation of power in the Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1197–1205

Stephen Donnachie

The disastrous reign of Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem (1186–1192), has been the subject of considerable study by historians of the Latin East, for it was under Guy's divisive leadership that the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was virtually annihilated following its decisive defeat at the battle of Hattin in the summer of 1187. Having had its army destroyed in the battle, the Latin kingdom saw the majority of its territory conquered by its Muslim neighbours in the months that followed, and though it regained some of its lost possessions in subsequent years, the Latin kingdom was never fully restored to its pre-Hattin size. Accordingly, Guy de Lusignan remains a prominent figure in any assessment of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the late-twelfth century.¹ Yet, Guy was not the only member of the Lusignan family to rule in the Latin East at this time. The notably less calamitous reign of Guy's elder brother, Aimery de Lusignan (1197–1205), who ruled as both the king of Jerusalem and the king of Cyprus just a few years after Guy, has been less expansively studied. Overshadowed by the rapid developments of the crusading movement of the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries, Aimery's comparatively quiet reign occupies a much smaller place in the historiography of the Latin East than that of his more infamous brother. When Aimery has been considered, it is his role as the first Frankish king of Cyprus and the founder of the island's Lusignan dynasty which has received the greatest attention. Indeed, it is in the histories of Cyprus that the most detailed accounts of his dual reign are found, but their analysis of Aimery's rule as a king of Jerusalem is comparatively limited.² We know of Aimery's key accomplishments as a monarch of the Latin kingdom, but we know little of him in the same manner as we do Guy, whose personality and kingship have been more thoroughly dissected. Crucially, we know little about how Aimery responded to the challenges that being the brother of Guy de Lusignan presented for his own later rule in Jerusalem.

Aimery, as the second Lusignan monarch to rule the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem within a handful of years, had to live with the disastrous legacy of Guy's reign. The defeat at Hattin had dramatically diminished the size of the kingdom, which, despite the efforts of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), remained restricted to a sliver of territory along the Palestinian coast. The severely reduced state of the kingdom was an ever-present reminder of Guy's failures as a king, but Guy

had been an unpopular ruler even before Hattin. As a younger son of a minor French noble who had acceded to the crown of Jerusalem in 1186 through his marriage to the kingdom's heiress, Guy's rise to power was greatly resented by the native baronage who viewed him as a foreign *parvenu* that was unfit to rule.³ His defeat at Hattin only exacerbated this unpopularity, and by 1192, his opponents had deposed him in favour of a rival candidate for the crown. Therefore, when Aimery became king of Jerusalem in 1197, he had to command a baronage that had recently ousted his brother from power. Political animosities from Guy's reign could not just be conveniently forgotten upon the accession of Aimery, especially as Aimery had loyally stood by Guy throughout his troubled rule.⁴ An attempted assassination of Aimery in March 1198, just a few months into his reign as king of Jerusalem, indicates that serious enmities persisted in the Latin kingdom, and that not all welcomed the return of a Lusignan to power.⁵ Yet assessments of how the legacy of Guy's reign affected the course of Aimery's rule are largely absent from the historiography. In light of the calamities of Guy's reign and his acrimonious relationship with his baronage, how did Aimery approach the task of ruling the kingdom of Jerusalem, and what influence did Guy's rule have upon the nature of Aimery's kingship? Furthermore, what impact did Aimery's responses to these challenges at the close of the twelfth century have upon shaping the history of the Latin East in the thirteenth century? This chapter seeks to explore these questions further, and will demonstrate that while Aimery endeavoured to distinguish his reign as king of Jerusalem from that of Guy's, the consequences of Guy's reign continued to affect the conduct of his kingship directly. Additionally, though Aimery sought to resolve the lingering political disputes from Guy's reign, his efforts to maintain peace inadvertently laid the foundations of future strife.

To comprehend the nature of Aimery's kingship in the kingdom of Jerusalem and the influence of Guy's contentious rule upon it, we must first understand the process by which both he and Guy became kings of Jerusalem. Guy and Aimery de Lusignan were younger sons of the lord of Lusignan in Poitou who both settled in the kingdom of Jerusalem during the 1170s. The political landscape of the Latin kingdom at this time was increasingly riven with factionalism, as the baronage fought to fill the vacuum of power created by the inexorable decline of the leprous king Baldwin IV (1174–1185). The Lusignan brothers both rose to prominence in the kingdom, with Guy marrying Baldwin IV's sister and heiress, Sibylla, in 1180, while Aimery was promoted to the office of constable in 1181, and connected himself to one of the kingdom's leading baronial families, the Ibelins, through his marriage to Eschiva of Ibelin, daughter of Baldwin of Ibelin, lord of Ramla.⁶ However, the baronage resented Guy's sudden advancement and the prospect of his future kingship. Among Guy's leading critics were Aimery's Ibelin in-laws, and attempts were made by his opponents to have his marriage to Sibylla annulled to block his path to the crown.⁷ In 1186, despite considerable baronial opposition, Guy acceded to the crown of Jerusalem by merit of his marriage to Sibylla. Sibylla defied the expectations of the baronage to divorce Guy, and having been crowned queen of Jerusalem first, named Guy as her king-consort. There was some brief resistance to Guy's rule, and Aimery's father-in-law, Baldwin of Ibelin,

quit the kingdom rather than pay Guy homage, but the baronage soon submitted.⁸ However, Guy's triumph was short-lived as both he and Aimery were captured at Hattin in 1187.

In response to Hattin, the Latin West launched the Third Crusade under the command of the kings of England and France. Among the crusade's participants was another Lusignan brother, Geoffrey, who joined Guy and Aimery in the Latin East following their release from captivity in the summer of 1188 and assisted them in besieging the city of Acre in 1189.⁹ However, Guy soon found his leadership of the Latin kingdom contested by the northern-Italian magnate, Conrad, marquis of Montferrat. Conrad's fortuitous arrival in the Latin East, shortly after the battle of Hattin, had rallied Jerusalemite forces and ensured the successful defence of the city of Tyre.¹⁰ The death of Sibylla in the autumn of 1190 stripped Guy of his right to rule as king of Jerusalem, and his opponents, seeing an opportunity to remove him from power, appointed Conrad as their new ruler. Led by Balian of Ibelin, the brother of Baldwin of Ibelin, Conrad was swiftly married to the kingdom's sole remaining heiress, Sibylla's paternal half-sister and Balian's step-daughter, Isabella. However, this required a hasty divorce from her first husband, Humphrey IV, lord of Toron, who was considered unsuitable for the crown.¹¹ By the spring of 1192, Guy's position as king of Jerusalem had become untenable, and he retired to the island of Cyprus, which had passed into his possession after its conquest by the king of England in 1191.¹²

However Conrad's reign was brief, as he was assassinated in April 1192. Rather than see Guy return to power, Conrad's baronial supporters quickly remarried the widowed Isabella to a new candidate for the crown, a veteran of the Third Crusade, Henry II, count of Champagne.¹³ In 1193, Henry had Aimery arrested after he intervened in favour of some Pisan merchants accused of plotting to seize the city of Tyre on Guy's behalf. Pressure from the Jerusalemite baronage soon forced Henry to release Aimery, but Aimery chose to quit the kingdom of Jerusalem for Cyprus, as other Lusignan supporters within the Jerusalemite baronage had already done.¹⁴ Following Guy's death in 1194, the barons of Cyprus chose Aimery as their new lord, and in 1195, Aimery sought a crown of his own from the German emperor, Henry VI. In September 1197, with the vanguard of Henry VI's new crusade arriving in the Latin East, Aimery was crowned king of Cyprus by the imperial chancellor.¹⁵ Some reconciliation between Aimery and Henry of Champagne had also occurred by this point, and Cypriot troops were dispatched to defend the city of Jaffa, which was soon besieged by Muslim forces. However, plans to relieve Jaffa were abandoned when Henry of Champagne died suddenly. A new king of Jerusalem was urgently required, and at the suggestion of the German crusaders, the Jerusalemite barons chose Aimery.¹⁶

Despite previous animosities, Aimery was the superlative candidate for the crown. Eschiva of Ibelin had recently died, which enabled him to marry the once again widowed Isabella as her fourth and final husband. He was also well known to the Jerusalemite baronage, and as a former constable was experienced in the politics of the Latin kingdom. Additionally, Aimery ruled over the prosperous island of Cyprus and had the support of the German emperor who was expected to

arrive imminently with the rest of his crusading army. Aimery could thus provide considerable support to the beleaguered Latin kingdom.¹⁷ With the assistance of the German crusaders, Aimery captured the city of Beirut in October 1197, and alongside Isabella, was crowned king of Jerusalem at the cathedral in Tyre in January 1198.¹⁸ In March 1198, Aimery survived an attempted assassination while out riding near Tyre. Suspicion fell upon the Latin kingdom's seneschal, Ralph of Tiberias, who had briefly been considered for the crown instead of Aimery, and whose family had long been opposed to the Lusignans.¹⁹ In the summer of 1198, Aimery concluded a truce with his Muslim neighbours to end the ongoing crusade, as news of Henry VI's death in Italy the previous autumn had caused German crusaders to return to the Latin West.²⁰

Though Aimery had been crowned king of Jerusalem, his nascent reign was by no means secure. Guy's reign and his contest for the crown with Conrad of Montferrat had been divisive, and Aimery, as Guy's brother and constable, had been on the losing side of that conflict. The attempted assassination indicates that there were members of the baronage who wanted to remove Aimery from power, and that political enmities against him and his family were still very much alive. Additionally, Aimery ruled not as king of Jerusalem in his own right, but rather as a king-consort through the rights of his wife, Isabella. If she were to die, or if they were to divorce, then Aimery's claim to royal authority in the Latin kingdom ended. However, Isabella had already been married three times, and the grounds for her divorce from Humphrey of Toron were questionable.²¹ This cast doubt over the validity of her subsequent marriages, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem did briefly oppose her marriage to Aimery.²² Moreover, Aimery owed his position as king of Jerusalem to the barons who had raised him to power, barons who until very recently had been opposed to Lusignan rule. If the baronage had the ability to raise him to power, then there was the possibility that they could depose him if he proved to be unpopular or inept. The Jerusalemite baronage's removal of Guy de Lusignan as king in favour of Conrad of Montferrat had established a dangerous precedent, one that could be applied to Aimery if needed. Aimery had been crowned king of Jerusalem, but that he should remain so was not guaranteed. Therefore, it was imperative that Aimery affirm his newly acquired royal authority.

Unsurprisingly, given the troubles of Guy's reign and the precariousness of his own, Aimery was quick to distinguish his rule from that of his brother by creating a more positive image of his new kingship. His attempts to forge this image began with his coronation in Tyre. Unlike previous kings of Jerusalem, Aimery could not be crowned in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, as the city had been lost after Hattin. It was therefore essential that he establish links to the practices of the pre-Hattin kingdom. According to the cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre, Aimery swore a coronation oath to uphold the laws and customs of the kingdom of Jerusalem, as they had existed during the reigns of king Amalric (1163–1174), Isabella's father, and king Baldwin IV, Isabella's half-brother, and to do away with novelties introduced since the destruction of the kingdom.²³ By referencing Amalric and Baldwin IV in his coronation oath, Aimery bypassed the reigns of Isabella's previous two consorts, who had never actually been crowned as kings of Jerusalem, as well

as the controversial reign of his brother, Guy, and expunged them from the political memory of the kingdom. This enabled Aimery to connect his reign directly to the undeniable authority of these earlier kings of Jerusalem and the pre-Hattin order that they represented.²⁴ Additionally, despite Isabella's previous marriages, she had never actually been crowned queen of Jerusalem. Therefore, through their dual coronation, Aimery emphasised his superiority to her previous consorts, for while they had been the husbands of the kingdom's heiress, he was the husband of the anointed queen. Furthermore, unlike Guy's coronation in 1186, which due to baronial opposition had required some deception by Queen Sibylla to achieve, no such subterfuge was needed for Aimery. His coronation was carried out in the correct manner with the approval of the kingdom's baronage.

Aimery's coronation oath also connected the present state of the post-Hattin kingdom to Guy's reign, for it was Guy's failures as a monarch that had led to the destruction of the kingdom which had permitted legal novelties to be introduced. Aimery's oath indicates that his rule would see the kingdom's pre-Hattin laws restored, and he soon followed up on this oath by commissioning the *Livre au Roi*, the Latin kingdom's first vernacular legislative work that codified its customary laws.²⁵ By creating the *Livre au Roi*, Aimery became a dispenser of law and justice, and an upholder of the rights of the crown and the baronage alike. These were positive traits for any medieval monarch, and later thirteenth-century legalists commended Aimery for this act.²⁶ Moreover, such qualities also helped distinguish Aimery's new reign from the acrimonies of Guy's earlier rule. Aimery also appointed two knights to distribute rents gathered from about the city of Acre. This may have been an attempt by Aimery to restructure the old pre-Hattin system of money-fiefs in the city, or an effort to create new ones in order to accommodate refugee knights dispossessed in the aftermath of Hattin.²⁷ Aimery thus addressed not only the welfare of the baronage by providing them with much needed fiefs, but he also sought to maintain the security of the kingdom by ensuring that knights for its defence could still be supported despite its diminished territory. Therefore, Aimery presented himself as a model king and an upholder of the law, whose coronation heralded the return of political stability to the post-Hattin kingdom of Jerusalem by setting right the errors of his brother's reign.

Aimery's attempts to distance himself from Guy were not just limited to his coronation but can also be seen in the charters he issued as king of Jerusalem. Aimery consistently stated Isabella's royal lineage in the opening lines of his royal charters, styling her as the daughter of king Amalric. Conrad of Montferat and Henry of Champagne also employed this formula in their charters, for as Isabella's second and third husbands they too faced similar quandaries in legitimising their royal authority.²⁸ This stands in contrasts to the practices of Guy de Lusignan, who never explicitly stated the royal lineage of his wife, Queen Sibylla, in his royal charters, even though he regularly issued them alongside her.²⁹ Guy may have been an unpopular king, but the validity of his marriage to Sibylla and his ensuing right to rule was not in question, at least while she lived. However, to the witnesses and recipients of Aimery's charters, his message was clear. Isabella was king Amalric's daughter, and Amalric's royal authority was now firmly vested

in Aimery through his marriage to Isabella. Consequently, Aimery's authority as king of Jerusalem originated from a source that preceded his brother's reign, and Aimery was, through his marriage, part of that more illustrious line and tradition of kingship.

Aimery stressed this connection further in the names used for his children with Isabella. Aimery's children by his first wife, Eschiva of Ibelin, who were born prior to his accession as king of Jerusalem and who went on to rule Cyprus, have names more commonly associated with his Lusignan family. This included two sons called Hugh and Guy, after Aimery's father and brother respectively, and a daughter called Burgundia, after his mother. Yet the names of Aimery's children with Isabella reflect her family rather than his. Aimery and Isabella had two daughters, Melisende and Sibylla, who bore the names of Isabella's grandmother, Queen Melisende (1131–1152), and her half-sister, Queen Sibylla. They also had a son called Amalric, named after Isabella's father.³⁰ Though Amalric died in infancy in 1205, he was the first and only son born to Isabella from all her marriages. As a male heir to the Latin kingdom, his naming was a significant symbolic act and an indication of Aimery's dynastic intent. Aimery may have been a Lusignan, but in the kingdom of Jerusalem, unlike in his Cypriot realm, he eschewed founding an overtly Lusignan dynasty. Rather, Aimery made himself a continuator of Isabella's line and located his kingship within her royal dynasty. This could help assuage any reservations about a Lusignan *revanche* within the Jerusalemite baronage, and strengthen Aimery's position by inserting him into a more acceptable and prestigious dynastic order. Such a decision may have been relatively easy to make, as Isabella already had four daughters from her previous two marriages, and those children born from her fourth, except for her son Amalric, were unlikely to inherit the crown ahead of their half-siblings.³¹ Through these positive dynastic connections, Aimery was able to present himself as the rightful successor to the kingdom of Jerusalem's earlier monarchs, and bypass the debacles of his brother's reign.

Though Aimery tried to distance himself symbolically from his brother's rule, he was not able to escape its influence entirely, and the legacy of Guy's reign continued to affect his kingship in Jerusalem in more immediate ways. If Aimery were to exercise his royal authority effectively, then it was essential that he have men about him through whom he could operate. Such men could be granted important lordships, royal offices, and positions of influence in the realm through which Aimery's rule could be implemented. As Hans Mayer and Bernard Hamilton have shown, those king-consorts who had reigned in the Latin kingdom before Aimery had made great use of the men that had accompanied them from the Latin West to exert their royal will in the Latin East. For example, Guy de Lusignan had built up a following of Poitevins, while Henry of Champagne was dependent upon a cluster of Champenois barons.³² Aimery, however, did not transfer men from Cyprus to support his rule in Jerusalem, nor did he significantly alter the structures of power that existed within the Latin kingdom after his accession.³³ While Aimery may have wished to avoid tethering his Cypriot realm to the diminished kingdom of Jerusalem, whose long-term survival in the post-Hattin Latin East was still doubtful, it could also have been his attempt at preventing the Latin kingdom

from sliding back into the factionalism of the past. An examination of the witness lists of royal charters issued in the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus in the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries, which can illuminate the circles of barons operating about the crown, suggests this was the case.

Following the death of Queen Sibylla in 1190, the contest between Guy de Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat for the crown of Jerusalem saw the emergence of two rival parties within the kingdom's baronage in support of their respective candidate. Within Conrad's party could be found many barons who had long been critical of Guy's rule, including Balian of Ibelin, Reynald, lord of Sidon, and Pagan, lord of Haifa. All three appear exclusively in charters issued by Conrad during his contest with Guy, and contemporary chroniclers noted them as being Conrad's chief accomplices. This group was joined by other prominent barons, including, Bernard de Templo, the viscount of Tyre, Walter Durus, who had formerly served as the kingdom's marshal under Guy, and Hugh of Tiberias, who was the brother of Ralph of Tiberias.³⁴ Conrad's victory over Guy established this party of barons, which was hostile to Lusignan rule, at the centre of Jerusalemite politics. Following Conrad's death, this same party of barons became the leading supporters of Henry of Champagne. Balian of Ibelin, Reynald of Sidon, Bernard de Templo, Walter Durus, along with Hugh and Ralph of Tiberias, who became Henry's seneschal, appear consistently as charter witnesses throughout Henry's reign.³⁵ Therefore, when Aimery came to power in the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1197, he encountered a ruling cadre of barons who had opposed his brother firmly entrenched at the heart of Jerusalemite politics.

Guy had also maintained an exclusive circle of baronial supporters around himself during his contest with Conrad. Chief among these were his brothers, Aimery and Geoffrey, but he also had the support of many lesser members of the Jerusalemite baronage, including such figures as Hugh Martin, Renier of Jubail, Gawain de Cheneché, Anselm le Bel, and Walter le Bel.³⁶ When Guy retired to Cyprus in 1192, these men relocated with him and continued to act as the leading witnesses to Aimery's Cypriot charters issued throughout the 1190s and early 1200s. Indeed, Renier of Jubail had acted as Aimery's envoy to Emperor Henry VI in 1195.³⁷ It is likely that other Lusignan adherents who had been displaced by the post-Hattin conquest of the Latin kingdom also sought opportunities on Cyprus, since barons who had not previously appeared in Guy's charters during his contest with Conrad soon came to prominence on the island under Aimery. These included the constable, Baldwin de Bethsan, the seneschal, Aimery de Rivet, and Reynald Barlais, who had commanded Cypriot forces during the defence of Jaffa in 1197.³⁸ The promotion of such men to positions of authority so quickly suggests previous Lusignan connections. Therefore, in contrast to the kingdom of Jerusalem, where barons who had opposed the Lusignans occupied the highest echelons of power, on Cyprus Lusignan followers dominated the realm.

Consequently, Aimery was unable to bring an entourage of Cypriot barons with him to the kingdom of Jerusalem to bolster his rule, for such an entourage would likely include many old Lusignan supporters. Returning such men to positions of influence in the Latin kingdom risked enflaming old animosities and antagonising

the Jerusalemite baronage by restoring their former rivals to power. The Jerusalemite barons were the very men that had raised Aimery to power, and it was upon their continued approval that his kingship depended. Rather than jeopardise his new crown and risk prolonging the factionalism of Guy's reign, Aimery refrained from transferring pro-Lusignan barons from Cyprus to Jerusalem, and *vice-versa*. Aimery's inner circle of advisors in Jerusalem comprised the same men and families that had originally supported Conrad against Guy, including the Ibelins, Reynald of Sidon, and fleetingly Ralph of Tiberias.³⁹ Indeed, one of Aimery's leading charter witnesses was his new brother-in-law and constable, John of Ibelin, the son of Balian of Ibelin, and half-brother to Queen Isabella. Aimery also granted John the important lordship of Beirut.⁴⁰ Recaptured in 1197, it was one of the few cities still in Frankish hands, making it a significant award to bestow. Such *largesse* by Aimery not only tied the Ibelins more closely to him but also helped ease any lingering rivalries to ensure a smoother transition of power. The only Lusignan supporters from Cyprus, who appear with any frequency in Aimery's Jerusalemite charters, are Renier of Jubail and Baldwin de Bethsan. Renier of Jubail only appears in charters dated to 1198, after which he appears to have returned to Cyprus.⁴¹ As he had been Aimery's envoy to Henry VI in 1195, his presence was likely connected to the German Crusade. The presence of Baldwin de Bethsan was also acceptable to the Jerusalemite baronage, for though the Bethsans had risen to importance on Cyprus, they had not been prominent members of Guy's party during his contest with Conrad, and were closely related to the Ibelins. Following Conrad's death, they had gone on to feature regularly in the charters of Henry of Champagne, and consequently, were part of the political landscape in the Latin kingdom upon Aimery's accession.⁴²

Though Aimery was unable to rely upon his Cypriot barons to fortify his rule in the kingdom of Jerusalem, he was able to create a small party of followers upon whom he could depend from among the western migrants who settled in the Latin East during his reign. From c.1200 onwards, a contingent of new men began to rise to prominence within Aimery's royal circle. These included Berthold, count of Nimburg, as well as Berthold's brother-in-law, Walter de Montbéliard, who was soon married to Aimery's daughter, Burgundia, and to whom Aimery granted the office of constable.⁴³ An Alsatian knight called Werner of Egisheim, and Guy de Montfort, the brother of Simon IV de Montfort, commander of the Albigensian Crusade, also joined them. Guy de Montfort soon acquired control over the important lordship of Sidon by marrying the widow of its former lord, Reynald of Sidon.⁴⁴ The acquisition of this lordship must have been carried out with Aimery's approval, for as with Beirut and the Ibelins, such an important possession was not likely to be granted to just anybody.

Aimery died in 1205, but a letter sent to king Peter II of Aragon in 1206 from the Jerusalemite baronage offering him the crown indicates the important place Aimery's new men had come to occupy in the Latin kingdom. Apart from Walter de Montbéliard, who had gone on to become the regent of Cyprus, Berthold of Nimburg, Werner of Egisheim, and Guy de Montfort are all included among the leading baronial witnesses to the letter, alongside members of the more

established Jerusalemite families such as the Ibelins.⁴⁵ Aimery may have died, but his new men had become firmly embedded within the kingdom's ruling elite. Unlike Aimery's Cypriot barons, these men were acceptable to the Jerusalemite baronage because they were newcomers to the Latin East who had no connections to the Latin kingdom's previous political disputes. Few in number, they presented no immediate threat to the balance of power, and if the Latin kingdom were to survive in its reduced post-Hattin state, then it needed such men for its defence. Aimery's new men cautiously strengthened his position as king, but they did not challenge the political status quo established in the Latin kingdom since the end of the reign of Guy de Lusignan, because to do so risked provoking baronial unrest. Aimery had to look to outsiders to enforce his rule as king of Jerusalem, because the factionalism of Guy's reign denied him the assistance of his own Cypriot barons.

While Aimery's "business as usual" policy with the Jerusalemite baronage circumvented potential conflicts and avoided reopening old wounds, it did not bring about a greater reconciliation or integration between the formerly opposed ruling elites of Jerusalem and Cyprus. By maintaining the positions of the ruling baronial parties in Jerusalem and Cyprus, Aimery only confirmed their place as the dominant ruling cadres of their respective kingdoms, and enabled them to consolidate their hold on power. Aimery's death in 1205 only strengthened the authority of these baronial cadres, as both his realms passed into the possession of minors until 1210. Cyprus passed to his son by Eschiva of Ibelin, Hugh (1210–1218), while Jerusalem fell to Maria of Montferrat (1210–1212), daughter of Isabella and Conrad of Montferrat. In the absence of strong royal authority, these baronial parties were able to retain their grip on power long into the reigns of Aimery's successors.⁴⁶ Consequently, it should come as no surprise that when the Ibelin family began to gain power on Cyprus a generation after Aimery's death, their primary opponents on the island were the people whose families had been among the Lusignans' leading supporters since the foundation of the Cypriot kingdom. Tensions for dominance over Cyprus between the Ibelins and members of the Barlais, Bethsan, Rivet, and Cheneché families throughout the mid-1220s eventually erupted into civil war in 1229, and that conflict came to encompass the kingdom of Jerusalem until 1242.⁴⁷ Peter Edbury has suggested that these Cypriot families were conscious of their own long history of service to the Lusignans, and resented their displacement as the leaders of the Cypriot nobility by the Ibelins, the descendants of the men who were their fathers' bitter foes in the kingdom of Jerusalem.⁴⁸ That this second generation of Cypriot barons could still view the Ibelins as their enemies, is a product of Aimery's decision to keep the baronages of his two realms apart in order to preserve the peace during his reign. This prolonged division enabled separate baronial identities in Jerusalem and Cyprus to emerge based on an origin of mutual rivalry. Aimery had maintained the peace during his own reign, but had inadvertently laid the foundations of a future conflict.

The failures of Guy de Lusignan as king of Jerusalem cast a long shadow into the reign of his brother Aimery, because Guy's rule defined the political landscape of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem that Aimery eventually came to inherit. Aimery

pursued a conciliatory approach to ruling the Latin kingdom between 1197 and 1205, seeking to wipe clean the Lusignan slate by separating his reign from the tumult of Guy's, and endowing his kingship with more positive royal traits. He also attempted to end the kingdom's internecine factionalism by working with the Jerusalemite baronage to maintain the post-Hattin political status quo. While Aimery's reign was free from catastrophe and largely devoid of any significant baronial unrest in comparison to his brother's, his more peaceful rule should not be overlooked, as we risk ignoring a monarch whose kingship at the close of the twelfth century greatly influenced the course of the first half of the thirteenth.

Notes

- 1 The events of Guy's reign and the battle of Hattin are discussed in all general histories of the Latin East. For more detailed works, see Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and his Heirs* (Cambridge, 2000); John France, *Hattin* (Oxford, 2015); Peter Edbury, "Propaganda and Faction in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: The Background to Hattin," in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), 173–98.
- 2 The German Crusade (1197–98), the Fourth Crusade (1199–1204), and the pontificate Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) have overshadowed Aimery's reign, which is only covered briefly in general histories of the Latin East. The most detailed assessments are found in, George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 2: *The Frankish Period 1192–1432* (Cambridge, 1944), and Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991).
- 3 For a history of the Lusignans, see Clement de Vasselet de Régné, "A Crusader Lineage from Spain to the Throne of Jerusalem: The Lusignans," *Crusades* 16 (2017): 95–114. For criticism of Guy's rule, see Elena Woodacre, "Questionable Authority: Female Sovereigns and their Consorts in Medieval and Renaissance Chronicles," in *Authority and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Chronicles*, eds. Juliana Dresvina and Nichola Sparks (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 2012), 367–406, at 393–97.
- 4 H.E. Mayer, ed., *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, 4 vols. (Hannover, 2010), 2:796–812, nos. 473–77, 815–21, nos. 479–80, 822–24, no. 482, 825–31, nos. 485–86, 832–35, no. 488.
- 5 *L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquête de la terre d'Outremer* 27.10, in *RHC: Oc.*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1859), 228–30.
- 6 Hamilton, *Leper King*, 97–98, 157.
- 7 Hamilton, *Leper King*, 156–58, 186–210.
- 8 Hamilton, *Leper King*, 218–22.
- 9 *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, 1184–1197*, ed. M.R. Morgan (Paris, 1982), 88–89.
- 10 *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 59–61, 75–79.
- 11 *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi, auctore, ut videtur, Ricardo Canonico Sanctae Trinitatis Londoniensi* 1.63, in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, vol. 1, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1864), 119–23.
- 12 *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 136–39; Edbury, *Cyprus*, 28–29.
- 13 *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 140–43.
- 14 *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 159; Edbury, *Cyprus*, 29.
- 15 *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 186; Edbury, *Cyprus*, 29.
- 16 *Eracles* 27.3–5, pp. 219–23.
- 17 Edbury, *Cyprus*, 33.
- 18 *Eracles* 27.5–7, pp. 223–25.
- 19 Ralph was the stepson of Guy de Lusignan's pre-Hattin rival, Raymond III, count of Tripoli. *Eracles* 27.5, 27.10–11, pp. 222, 228–31; Hamilton, *Leper King*, 186–234.

- 20 *Eracles* 26.23, 27.10, pp. 210, 228.
- 21 The Archbishop of Canterbury had opposed the divorce in 1190. *Itinerarium* 1.63, ed. Stubbs, 119–23.
- 22 Othmar Hageneder, Werner Maleczek, and Alfred A. Strnad, eds., *Die Register Innocenz' III, 1. Pontifikatsjahr, 1198/1199* (Graz, 1964), 1:752–53, no. 518.
- 23 *Cart St Sép*, 329–30, no. 172.
- 24 Peter Edbury, “Fiefs and Vassals in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries,” *Crusades* 1 (2002): 49–62, at 58–59.
- 25 Myriam Greilsammer, ed., *Le Livre au Roi* (Paris, 1995).
- 26 Philip of Novara, *Livre de Philippe de Navarre*, in *RHC: Lois*, vol. 1, ed. Auguste-Arthur Beugnot (Paris, 1841), 515, 544.
- 27 *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), 311.
- 28 Mayer, *Urkunden*, 2:896–904, nos. 529–30, 929–49, nos. 568–73, 950–66, nos. 575–81, 983–1000, nos. 609–14, 1005–9, nos. 620–21.
- 29 Mayer, *Urkunden*, 2:793–821, nos. 472–80, 822–24, no. 482.
- 30 Aimery's children with Eschiva of Ibelin were, Guy, John, Hugh, Burgundia, Alice, and Helvis, whereas his children with Isabella were, Sibylla, Melisende, and Amalric. *Eracles* 26.21, 30.11, pp. 208, 305; M.A. Nielen, ed., *Lignages d'Outremer* (Paris, 2003), 88–90.
- 31 Nielen, *Lignages*, 81; Greilsammer, *Livre*, 145–50.
- 32 Hans Mayer, “Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (1989): 1–25; Bernard Hamilton, “King Consorts of Jerusalem and their Entourages from the West from 1186 to 1250,” in *Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, 13–24.
- 33 Hamilton, “King Consorts,” 13–18.
- 34 Mayer, *Urkunden*, 2:896–900, no. 529, 900–4, no. 530, 907–10, no. 533; *Itinerarium* 1.63, ed. Stubbs, 119–23.
- 35 Mayer, *Urkunden*, 2:929–49, nos. 568–73, 950–68, nos. 575–82.
- 36 Mayer, *Urkunden*, 2:825–31, nos. 485–86, 832–35, no. 488.
- 37 RRH, 193, no. 723, 194, no. 729, 196, no. 737, 207–8, no. 780; Hamilton, “King Consorts,” 18–19; Edbury, *Cyprus*, 16, 29.
- 38 RRH, 193, no. 723, 194, no. 729, 196, no. 737, 207–8, no. 780; *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 191.
- 39 Mayer, *Urkunden*, 2:983–1000, nos. 609–14, 1005–9, nos. 620–21; Stephen Donnachie, “Crown and Baronage in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem after the Battle of Hattin, 1187–1228,” *Medieval Prosopography* 32 (2017): 87–124, at 108–12.
- 40 Mayer, *Urkunden*, 2:983–86, no. 609, 988–93, nos. 611–12, 997–1000, no. 614, 1005–9, nos. 620–21; Philip of Novara, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223–1242)*, ed. Silvio Melani (Naples, 1994), 88–90.
- 41 Mayer, *Urkunden*, 2:983–86, no. 609, 988–93, nos. 611–12, 997–1000, no. 614; RRH, 207–8, no. 780.
- 42 Mayer, *Urkunden*, 2:933–36, no. 569, 940–49, nos. 571–73, 952–55, nos. 576–77, 961–66, nos. 579–81. The mother of Eschiva of Ibelin had been Richilde de Bethsan. Nielen, *Lignages*, 60–61.
- 43 Mayer, *Urkunden*, 2:1007–9, no. 621; 3:1061–66, no. 645, 1346–51, no. 772; *Eracles* 26.21, 30.5, pp. 208–9, 316.
- 44 *Eracles* 28.12, p. 263; Nielen, *Lignages*, 62.
- 45 Mayer, *Urkunden*, 3:1061–66, no. 645.
- 46 Donnachie, “Crown and Baronage,” 112–20.
- 47 Edbury, *Cyprus*, 44–55.
- 48 Edbury, *Cyprus*, 55.



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Part 4

Literary and textual traditions



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13 The charters of the Fifth Crusade revisited¹

Thomas W. Smith

Charters have proven one of the more popular types of sources in writing the history of the crusading movement.² Yet the charters of the Fifth Crusade have been much less studied than those of earlier expeditions, which is surprising given the significance of the corpus. The Revised Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani Database lists 160 charters issued during the campaign of the Fifth Crusade.³ In his pioneering study and collection of sources on the Fifth Crusade, *Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges*, published in 1891, Reinhold Röhricht gathered a collection of 54 charters from the expedition.⁴ Yet the corpus of charters he identified has hitherto not been subjected to scrutiny, and some of the authentic documents listed in his work are not included in the Revised Regesta Database. The charters represent valuable sources for the Fifth Crusade because they permit one to trace the religious patronage, transactions, and logistics of the expedition in finer detail than the narrative sources allow.⁵ There is, however, one major hurdle that has to be overcome before we can put Röhricht's collection of charters to use, which perhaps explains why they have been neglected: the question of their authenticity. A great number of the charters originated in the mid-nineteenth-century workshop of the notorious forgers, Henri Courtois and Paul Letellier, and while David Abulafia pointed out in the mid-1980s some means through which we might identify their forgeries, it remains unclear which of Röhricht's charters are genuine and which are modern confections.⁶ The present chapter therefore revisits the charters of the Fifth Crusade and sifts out the forgeries in order to establish a more reliable core of documents. In so doing, I hope to draw more scholarly attention to the possibilities (and problems) of the charters and open them up for further research.

As already noted, Röhricht identified 54 Fifth Crusade charters for his *Studien*. The first and most pressing task is to eliminate the Courtois-Letellier forgeries from our investigation. The bulk of the Courtois forgeries can be found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 17803 – the so-called “Courtois Collection.”⁷ This manuscript is infamous for being an ingenious assemblage of made-to-order mid-nineteenth-century forgeries. The compilation of the Courtois

Collection is a fascinating tale of historical invention and skulduggery that has been told by a number of scholars, including Robert-Henri Bautier and David Abulafia, among others, but it is worth retracing its main lines here in order to establish the context for the subsequent analysis.⁸ In 1839, King Louis-Philippe of France decided to adorn the walls of a crusade gallery at the palace of Versailles with the names and arms of contemporary noble families who could boast of crusading ancestors. When the gallery opened the following year, protests erupted from families who claimed to have crusading ancestors but were not represented, which led to the temporary closure of the gallery. While aggrieved families scoured medieval chronicles and documents for references to their ancestors and submitted this evidence for approval, a pair of entrepreneurial crooks, Henri Courtois and his assistant Paul Letellier, seized the opportunity to establish a roaring trade in fake documents for families who were willing to pay a high price – some 400 or 500 francs – in order falsely to claim such ancestry, which led to a rush of new claims in 1842.

Courtois and Letellier were cunning in how they went about creating fakes for their clients. They arranged for original medieval documents to be smuggled out of the French national archives, cannibalised them for their parchment and seals (cutting with scissors that left telltale sharp edges), and then washed, ironed, and chemically treated the parchments. After they had prepared the vellum, they inscribed bogus texts on them that placed particular families in the Holy Land on particular crusades – usually, in the case of the Fifth Crusade, charters linking French “crusaders” with Italian “merchants.”⁹ Despite the lengths to which Courtois and Letellier went in the creation of their phoney documents, their products do not fully conform to the expected codicological norms of authentic medieval manuscripts. As a result, an air of suspicion lingered over the documents for more than a century, during which time no one was able decisively to prove that the charters were modern concoctions, something made particularly difficult by the families in possession of Courtois-Letellier fabrications, who aggressively fought off any threats to their invented crusading pedigree.¹⁰ As Abulafia recounts, there was “a strong and steady assault on the claims of the Cabinet Courtois throughout the mid-nineteenth century” and beyond.¹¹ But it was difficult to make a definitive, informed judgement about the documents since some 200 of them were dispersed in private collections – a reality which rendered their comparison near impossible. This all changed, however in the middle of the twentieth century, when the French national archives purchased the unsold stock from Courtois and Letellier’s workshop, recorded as MS Latin 17803, which comprised some 350 fake documents, some even with the names of “crusaders” left blank ready for insertion after sale to a client.¹² Seizing the new opportunity presented by this manuscript to decide once and for all whether these documents were authentic, in 1956, Robert-Henri Bautier demonstrated irrefutably that many of the documents cited to gain inclusion in the crusade gallery at Versailles were modern forgeries.¹³

When Röhricht was writing in 1891, though, he was of course unaware of the status of MS Latin 17803 and included them as a collection of Fifth Crusade

charters. Of the 54 charters published in Röhricht's *Studien*, MS Latin 17803 accounts for 22 of the documents (a summary list of charters sorted according to authenticity is included in the Appendix I, below, for ease of reference).¹⁴ When we strip these away from the charter corpus, it leaves us with 32 documents of indeterminate authenticity. While it is a straightforward affair to cull the Courtois Collection in the Paris manuscript from Röhricht's list, we must confront the danger that other Courtois-Letellier fakes, sold to customers, preserved in private collections and then touted as authentic, may have infiltrated Röhricht's list. As Marcus Bull cautions, and will be demonstrated below, "[i]t is probable that even today there are Courtois forgeries out there in archives and libraries waiting to catch the unwary."¹⁵ So how can we root out any Courtois-Letellier fakes from the remaining Fifth Crusade charters? As a result of Bautier's researches, we know that the Courtois-Letellier forgeries in private collections are identical to their unsold stock in the Paris manuscript in substance and form.¹⁶ "Nearly all the Courtois forgeries," Abulafia confirms, "are based on simple variations on a pattern; the documents have their inspiration in the genuine charters [recording financial transactions and their guarantors] concerned with St Louis's crusade."¹⁷ This means that any charters recording financial transactions between French crusaders and Italian – especially Genoese – merchants, should be considered suspect until proven otherwise. We can also cross-reference the names of those mentioned in the charters against the lists of crusaders that James M. Powell published in his classic study of the Fifth Crusade in order to identify genuine crusaders who are attested in other sources.¹⁸

How many of the other charters appear to be fakes, then? A number of the remaining 32 charters are immediately suspicious and appear to be further Courtois-Letellier forgeries. In content, they resemble closely those from MS Latin 17803 (see Appendix II for a sample transcription of a fake Fifth Crusade charter from the collection). Like the confections from the unsold stock in the Courtois Collection, they concern financial transactions between French crusaders and Genoese merchants, and they often cite the names of the same individuals who crop up again and again in the Courtois Collection, such as one "Bertonus Scarella" and one "Jacobus de Clapa," who are not recorded in any other medieval sources for the Fifth Crusade.¹⁹ As Abulafia points out, "nearly all the names of Genoese, Pisan, and Siennese bankers are pure invention, betraying considerable ignorance of the names of the leading business families in Genoa and Tuscany, and even of the names of the real Genoese and Tuscan participants in the crusades."²⁰ Although Courtois and Letellier showed great ingenuity in the creation of the external features of their forged manuscripts, they made less effort with the internal content. Attempting to invent (or adapt) a coherent and credible historical world in which fictional Fifth Crusaders could have operated, was difficult and, though the forgers managed to create some quite long and sophisticated documents,²¹ it seems that with so many clients clamouring for their services, shortcuts had to be found. Rather than going to the trouble of inventing a myriad of different circumstances and relationships for each charter, the forgers appear to have settled upon a basic scenario that could be used as

a template and then scaled up easily to meet increased demand. Courtois and Letellier created documents that recorded fictional French crusaders borrowing from a relatively small number of invented Genoese bankers – such as Bertonus Scarella, Jacobus de Clapa, Luchinus Corsali, and Jacobus Aspirani – and then simply inserted the names of their clients’ “ancestors” to fill the roles of the French crusaders. They attempted to cover their tracks by varying the amounts of the loans and throwing in a few unique details regarding the terms of repayment and circumstances in which the loans had been made in order to add colour – and, they obviously hoped, credibility – as well as to differentiate their various products. For instance, the forgers drafted one document as the testimony of a clergyman on the Crusade, one “Franciscus presbyter,” who confirmed that a particular transaction involving French crusaders and Genoese merchants had taken place; they wrote up another fake as a confirmation of a similar loan, purportedly issued by the genuine crusader Simon de Joinville, seneschal of Champagne.²² This approach was a practical solution to their dilemma that could be scaled up easily and quickly to meet the needs of as many clients as they could attract. Courtois and Letellier probably thought that they had struck upon the perfect fix, and it certainly served them well at the time, but it is this corner-cutting that allows us to root out another eight charters that appear to have originated from their workshop and which infiltrated Röhrich’s collection.²³

Having culled the obvious forgeries, then, which total 30 charters from the corpus, we are left with 24 which appear to be authentic.²⁴ Only nine of these are currently listed on the Revised Regesta Database.²⁵ Most of the apparently authentic charters can be gathered into three main groups: 1) charters issued by Leopold, Duke of Austria; 2) donations and repayments by various crusaders to religious orders, overwhelmingly to the military orders of the Teutonic knights and the Hospitallers; and 3) a cache of charters concerning crusaders from Bologna. Further research into the texts of the charters and their manuscript contexts is required, but for the moment there appear to be no obvious forgeries hiding among these documents and most of the charters appear to have secure historical contexts (see discussion below) which lend weight to their authenticity.

What kind of information about the Fifth Crusade is preserved in these charters? The first group of five charters, issued by Leopold, Duke of Austria, one of the foremost leaders of the Crusade, attests to the normal concerns and preoccupations of a crusader nobleman girding himself for departure on campaign.²⁶ In a pattern that fits in with his movements as established by Miha Kosi, before he embarked on his crusade in 1217, in June and July Leopold issued charters granting possessions to the Cistercian institution Stift Rein in Steiermark (Wieder Steiermark),²⁷ confirming privileges granted to the Hospital of Saint Mary of Cerwald (Semmering, also in Steiermark),²⁸ settling a dispute between Stift Göttweig and the nobles of Morsbach,²⁹ and an agreement with the patriarch of Aquileia regarding the allocation of *ministeriales* in their services.³⁰ These documents are pretty standard fare for what one would expect of a crusade leader looking to settle disputes, raise money, and donate to religious institutions before leaving his realm. We should not, however, attribute all the initiative to Leopold

in issuing these documents: the charter he addressed to the Hospital of Saint Mary of Cerwald was probably drawn up in response to a petition from that institution. It was not just crusader lords who looked to put their affairs in order before an expedition to the East; subjects were also keen to reinforce their positions before temporal lords departed on crusade since they would no longer be there to enforce justice, and they might never return.

The next group of nine charters is formed of grants to the military orders made by crusaders while on campaign in the East. In 1218, in a grant possibly made at Acre, Ulrich de Stubenberg from Steiermark entrusted the villages of Kroisbach and Hatzendorf to the Hospitallers for the salvation of his soul.³¹ Later, on 18 July, while taking part in the siege of Damietta, Leopold of Austria issued a corresponding charter that praised and confirmed this donation.³² In the final stages of the Crusade, in June 1221, Ulrich donated his villages of Lechouve and Aspach to the Hospitallers in the event of his death.³³ Such grants were commonplace during crusade campaigns and a number of other Fifth Crusaders made grants to the military orders during the expedition. One charter records that, on 15 June 1218, Adolfus, Count of Berg, granted Diederim to the Teutonic order.³⁴ The charter contains an especially long list of 27 witnesses that probably reflects the high mortality rate on crusades: it was a wise move to secure as many witnesses as possible, because one could not be sure how many of them would make it back to the West alive to authenticate the grant. Similarly, in 1218 and 1219 respectively, Swederus de Dingede conferred many possessions on the Teutonic knights, and William, Count of Jülich, granted Bergstein to the order, which he and his ancestors had held in fief from the Roman Empire, and churches in Nideggen and Siersdorf.³⁵

Illness and impending death could be powerful motivating factors in the decision to make such grants.³⁶ Another charter from the Fifth Crusade records how, struck down by sickness, on 27 January 1220, Walter Bertholdus, a noble of Brabant and Lord of Mechelen, donated to the Teutonic order land in Rama and Grootlo.³⁷ Similarly, on 18 October 1221, while lying infirm in the Hospital of Saint John in Acre after the failure of the Fifth Crusade, Henry, Count of Rodez, clearly expecting his death, made his last testament.³⁸ Henry's *testamentum* preserves a record of the many churches and possessions that he donated to the Hospitallers. In addition, his will records bequests of money and goods to a long list of peers and followers, including knights and nobles, as well as his notary, Bertrand, and his priest. Henry also acknowledged and listed a string of debts he owed, which were to be repaid after his death. In 1219, Milo, Count of Bar, issued a charter recording a repayment of 30 pounds, which Peter of Montague, master of the Templars, had loaned him earlier on the Crusade.³⁹ Rounding out this group of documents is a similar charter that records a grant made to a non-military order. In May 1219, in the camp at Damietta, Amalric, a knight of Bouvines, donated land to the abbey of Saint Calixtus at Cysoing, a grant subsequently copied into the abbey's cartulary.⁴⁰ Such donations fit into, and were an extension of, the culture of crusader religiosity and noble patronage of religious houses by wealthy families that had existed in the West for centuries.⁴¹ King Andrew II of Hungary, for

instance, made a number of substantial grants to the Hospitallers during the Fifth Crusade that are recorded and confirmed in the papal registers of Honorius III.⁴² These charters attest to an established culture of donations to the military orders on campaign in recognition of the bonds forged in combat and as recompense for the crucial roles played by the orders in supporting, advising, and protecting the newly-arrived crusaders from the West.

The third group of nine charters was produced by pilgrims from Bologna. This cache of documents referring to Bolognese crusaders, assembled by Ludovico Savioli in the late eighteenth century, and studied recently by Hans Eberhard Mayer, offers a fascinating cross section of the expedition, since it allows us to follow the actions of a regional crusade contingent over the course of the campaign.⁴³ The earliest of the Bolognese charters, issued on 24 December 1217, is a fascinating (but sadly damaged) document that records the names of pilgrims from Bologna who vowed before their bishop that they would join the next general passage *pro recuperanda terra sancta et sanctissima cruce*.⁴⁴ The next charter, sealed on 18 February 1219, records that the commune of Bologna agreed to pay 8,000 marks towards the passage of crusaders from the city to the East as well as for warriors from the surrounding region.⁴⁵ On 23 December 1219, the Bolognese crusader Barzella Merxadrus had his last testament drawn up, a text which we can access through an authentic copy made in a charter from 1220.⁴⁶ Motivated by his grave infirmity in Damietta, Barzella set aside first money for his burial and tomb and for masses to be said for his soul. Like the charters mentioned earlier, Barzella also made a grant to the Teutonic order, but instead of money, the dying crusader gifted them his arms and armour.⁴⁷ To the rest of the crusaders he left food and wine, and 6 bezants to pay for bread and more wine. He also made gifts of one bezant each to the Order of Saint Lazarus, the common store of the army, the Templars, and the Hospitallers. One can discern a clear list of priorities here, and not just in the disproportionate provision of money for extra wine: Barzella obviously felt the closest attachment to the Teutonic order, over and above the others for which he also provided in his will. The charter goes on, and Barzella divided up his movable and immovable property at home and in Damietta.

The division of spoils from Damietta, which the crusaders conquered in November 1219, was a contentious issue, and another charter, a lengthy document issued on 19 June 1220, carved up a portion of the city of Damietta between crusaders from Bologna and Lucca.⁴⁸ There are five further charters, sealed between 19 June and 19 September 1220 concerning the property of the Bolognese crusaders and their agreements with the pilgrims of Lucca.⁴⁹ As a group, these Bolognese charters underline just how important regional identities were in the crusading movement, both in terms of those who banded together to fight, and those supporting them in their home towns through financial subsidies and, undoubtedly, prayer.⁵⁰ The unified effort of the entire Christian community was a key element of the papal approach to the organisation of the crusading movement in the early thirteenth century, and these charters demonstrate unequivocally that this resonated strongly with the people of the West.⁵¹

Finally, there is one more document that sheds light on the regional organisation of the Fifth Crusade: a document issued on 9 May 1218 by “J.,” dean of Saint Quentin, and Robert of Courçon, the former papal legate to France.⁵² This document dictates guidelines for the collection of the twentieth tax in Saint Quentin to fund the crusade, specifically, how the money was to be used in support of poor crusaders from the region. It closes with an order for the collection and payment of the twentieth to the local crusaders before the coming Pentecost of that year. This document can only be considered a “charter” in the most general sense of the term: it does not make a grant or record a transaction. Really it should be classed as a letter to a general audience, and why Röhricht chose to include it counterintuitively with his collection of charters instead of his collection of letters, is unclear. But, in addition to echoing the evidence from the Bologna charters, it represents an important record of how collection of the twentieth was pursued by the church hierarchy at the parochial level and adds a valuable missing piece to the puzzle of how papal collection orders were implemented on the ground.⁵³

In conclusion, these 24 charters represent an important but underexplored corpus of sources for the Fifth Crusade. We can now add another 15 authentic charters to the Revised Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani Database.⁵⁴ What is not immediately clear is why Röhricht printed these 15 charters in his *Studien* in 1891, but not in his *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, published only three years later. The most probable explanation is that Röhricht did not consider them to be relevant to the Kingdom of Jerusalem and so did not include them in his *Regesta*.⁵⁵ The 24 charters all appear to be genuine, and they add a new dimension to our understanding of the expedition and the crusade as an institution in the early thirteenth century, especially regarding logistics, the religiosity of crusaders and their attachments to the military orders, and the regional bonds that tied local contingents together. A forensic examination of the witness lists of the charters, as Mayer has completed for the charter of Barzella Merxadrus, for example, would permit one to approach a central historiographical question of the Fifth Crusade from a new angle: how the makeup and loyalties of the crusader host shifted as a result of the short terms of service and the rhythmic series of seasonal departures and arrivals.⁵⁶ The relatively large size of the corpus necessitates more extensive research than is possible in a chapter of this length, but, having sifted out the forgeries, we can approach the charters of the Fifth Crusade on slightly firmer ground.

Notes

- 1 I am very grateful for the award of a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship at the University of Leeds (2017–2020), which made this research, and attendance at the Haifa conference, possible. I am grateful to Karl Borchardt and Steve Tibble for their advice on this chapter in conversation, and to the editors of this volume for comments on the piece.
- 2 See, for example: Corliss Konwiser Slack, ed., *Crusade Charters, 1138–1270* (Tempe, AZ, 2001); Giles Constable, “Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades,” in Idem, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham, 2008), 93–116; Marcus Bull, “The Diplomatic of the First Crusade,” in *The First Crusade*:

- Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester, 1997), 35–54; and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997) which broke new ground in the use of charter evidence on a large scale, and Hans Eberhard Mayer's landmark edition and study of the charters of the Latin kings of Jerusalem: Mayer, *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, 4 vols. (Hannover, 2010).
- 3 RRR Database: <http://crusades-regesta.com>. Retrieved January 31, 2018.
 - 4 Reinhold Röhricht, ed., *Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1891), 57–75.
 - 5 *RRH*. In his pioneering – now classic – study of the Fifth Crusade, James Powell acknowledged very cautiously using the charters from Röhricht's *Studien* to help compose his list of Fifth Crusaders in James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, PA, 1986), 207–58 (for Powell's discussion of his use of Röhricht's list, 207–8). On the Fifth Crusade see now: Megan Cassidy-Welch, *War and Memory at the Time of the Fifth Crusade* (University Park, PA, 2019); E.J. Mylod, Guy Perry, Thomas W. Smith, and Jan Vandeburie, eds., *The Fifth Crusade in Context: The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century* (Abingdon, 2017); Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c.1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013), 89–121.
 - 6 On the “Collection Courtois” see: Robert-Henri Bautier, “La collection de Chartes de Croisade, dite ‘collection Courtois’,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1956): 382–86; Robert-Henri Bautier, “Forgeries et falsifications de documents par une officine généalogique au milieu du XIX siècle,” *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 132 (1974): 75–93; David Abulafia, “Invented Italians in the Courtois Charters,” in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. Peter Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 135–43; Jane Sayers, “English Charters from the Third Crusade,” in *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, eds. Diana Greenway, Christopher Holdsworth, and Jane Sayers (Cambridge, 1985), 195–213, at 197 and notes.
 - 7 For the catalogue entry for this manuscript, see: http://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/jsp/index_view_direct_anonymous.jsp?record=eadbam:EADC:NE0065636_FRBNFEAD00006881265592. Retrieved January 13, 2018.
 - 8 Bautier, “La collection de Chartes de Croisade”; Abulafia, “Invented Italians in the Courtois Charters.”
 - 9 This account follows Bautier, “La collection de Chartes de Croisade.” See also Abulafia, “Invented Italians in the Courtois Charters” and Marcus Bull, *Thinking Medieval: An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2005), 66.
 - 10 Indeed, even when Robert-Henri Bautier presented his convincing research that unmasked the documents as forgeries in 1956, he met with some resistance; appended to his article is the comment that “M. Charles Samaran présente une observation et regrette que M. Bautier ait mis en cause, sans preuves suffisantes, des personnes qui peuvent avoir encore des descendants.”: Bautier, “La collection de Chartes de Croisade,” 386. See also Bull, *Thinking Medieval*, 66.
 - 11 Abulafia, “Invented Italians in the Courtois Charters,” 136–38, quotation at 137.
 - 12 Bautier, “La collection de Chartes de Croisade,” 383–85.
 - 13 Bautier, “La collection de Chartes de Croisade.”
 - 14 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, nos. 1, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45.
 - 15 Bull, *Thinking Medieval*, 66.
 - 16 Bautier, “La collection de Chartes de Croisade,” 384: “Il ne fait donc aucun doute que pas un seul des trois cent cinquante documents invendus n'est authentique. Or ceux qui avaient été vendus aux familles (environ deux cents) leur sont rigoureusement identiques dans le fond et dans la forme.”
 - 17 Abulafia, “Invented Italians in the Courtois Charters,” 139.
 - 18 Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, 207–58.

- 19 Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, 256.
- 20 Abulafia, "Invented Italians in the Courtois Charters," 139.
- 21 See, for example, Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 27, 65.
- 22 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 31, 66, no. 35, 47.
- 23 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 31, 38, 39.
- 24 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 17, 24, 25, 26, 30, 33, 40, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54.
- 25 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, nos. 33, 40, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54.
- 26 See, now, Miha Kosi, "The Fifth Crusade and its Aftermath: Crusading in the Southeast of the Holy Roman Empire in the First Decades of the Thirteenth Century," *Crusades* 17 (2018): 91–113. I am very grateful to Dr Kosi for kindly sending me a digital copy of this article.
- 27 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 2, 57.
- 28 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 3, 57.
- 29 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 4, 57–58.
- 30 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 5, 58. For Leopold's movements around this time, see Kosi, "The Fifth Crusade and its Aftermath," 98–99.
- 31 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 7, 58–59.
- 32 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 17, 62–63.
- 33 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 53, 74.
- 34 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 13, 61–62; Nicholas Edward Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land, 1190–1291* (Woodbridge, 2009), 37.
- 35 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, nos. 24, 25, p. 64; Morton, *Teutonic Knights*, 37.
- 36 On such crusader testaments, see Rudolf Hiestand, "Zum Problem der Herrschertestamente des Heiligen Landes," in *Herrscher- und Fürstentestamente im westeuropäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Brigitte Kasten (Cologne, 2008), 687–705.
- 37 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 46, 70.
- 38 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 54, 74–75.
- 39 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 33, 66.
- 40 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 30, 66.
- 41 For the patronage of the military orders in particular, see, for instance, Jochen Schenk, *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, c.1120–1307* (Cambridge, 2012).
- 42 See Thomas W. Smith, *Curia and Crusade: Pope Honorius III and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1216–1227* (Turnhout, 2017), 123–24.
- 43 Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Bologna und der Fünfte Kreuzzug," *Crusades* 14 (2015): 153–66.
- 44 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 6, 58.
- 45 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 26, 64.
- 46 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 40, 68; new edition and extensive analysis in Mayer, "Bologna und der Fünfte Kreuzzug."
- 47 Morton, *Teutonic Knights*, 37.
- 48 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 48, 72.
- 49 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, nos. 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, pp. 72–74.
- 50 On liturgical support on the home front, see Anne E. Lester, "A Shared Imitation: Cistercian Convents and Crusader Families in Thirteenth-Century Champagne," *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009): 353–70, at 357, 366; M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY, 2017), 130–64; Christoph T. Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997): 628–57; Richard D.G. Allington, *Prayer Warriors: Crusading Piety in Rome and the Papal States (1187–1291)* (Unpublished PhD diss., Saint Louis University, 2017); Thomas W. Smith, "Scribal Crusading: Three New Manuscript Witnesses to the Regional Reception and Transmission of First Crusade Letters," *Traditio* 72 (2017): 133–69.

51 See Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade."

52 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, no. 11, 60–61.

53 On the twentieth tax, see Smith, *Curia and Crusade*, 297–341.

54 Röhricht, ed., *Studien*, nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 17, 24, 25, 26, 30, 46, 53.

55 I owe this point to Karl Borchardt.

56 Mayer, "Bologna und der Fünfte Kreuzzug."

Appendix I

Authenticity of Fifth Crusade charters in Röhrich's *Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges*

*Courtois-Letellier Forgeries from the "Courtois Collection": Paris, Bnf, MS
Latin 17803*

Röhrich, ed., *Studien*, nos. 1, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 27, 28, 29, 32,
34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45.

Probable Courtois-Letellier Forgeries outside of the "Courtois Collection"

Röhrich, ed., *Studien*, nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 31, 38, 39.

Probable Authentic Charters of the Fifth Crusade

Röhrich, ed., *Studien*, nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 17, 24, 25, 26, 30, 33,
40, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54.

Appendix II

Sample transcription of fake Fifth Crusade charter from the “Courtois Collection”

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 17803, no. 59 [n.b. the codex is not paginated]

Ego Guillelmus de Hometo constabularius Normannie notum facio universis presentes litteras inspecturis quod si Luchinus Corsali, Jacobus Aspirani, Januenses mercatores, vel quilibet alius de societate eorum karissimo[s] milites Robertum de Fratellis, Guillelmum Mathani, Robertum de Pontis villa, Petrum divitis burgi, Fulconem Bossolii, Guillelmum de Herbovilla, Guillelmum de Tochetto, Colardum de Fresnaya, et Guillelmum de Freavilla a carceribus liberari procuraverint, ego ad solvendum dictis mercatoribus pro militibus supra nominatis mille libras Turonenses infra tres menses post liberationem eorundem militum me et bona mea specialiter obligo. In cuius rei testimonium presentes litteras sigillo meo sigillari feci. Datum in castris juxta Damyetam vicesima die Septembris.

14 “Por Ce Qu’i Mielz L’Entendent Qui Ne Sunt Letree”

Translating the story of the First Crusade

Carol Sweetenham

Introduction

The First Crusade was an event with unparalleled resonance. It was the catalyst for an explosion of accounts spanning Latin, Old French, romance, and non-romance languages which underwent a process of constant adaptation and translation until the sixteenth century. These texts and their relationship have been much studied from the point of view of the historian. However they have not been examined in as much depth from the point of view of the medieval translator. This chapter argues that translation into the vernacular and crusade were inextricably linked.

Why the emphasis on the First Crusade? The central preoccupation after the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 was to regain the Holy Land. The only crusade to have taken Jerusalem was the First Crusade, which was cited again and again as the example to follow. But an example is of no use if it cannot be understood. The story of the Crusade needed to be translated into current vernacular and popular idiom if it was to be understood and perhaps even heeded. This happened at the turn of the twelfth century in the wake of Hattin, with accounts in French verse and prose drawing on the conventions of the *chanson de geste*: the Old French Crusade Cycle (hereafter OFCC) and the *Eracles* translated from William of Tyre.¹ These vernacular texts were joined by Robert the Monk’s history in the fifteenth century.² They became the basis of wave after wave of adaptations and translations to meet contemporary tastes and preoccupations, which lasted as long as the concept of crusade continued to have currency.³

This does not of course imply that translation from Latin into the vernacular more widely did not take place until the end of the twelfth century. Quite the contrary – such translation took place throughout the century, and there was significant interplay between Latin and the vernacular.⁴ Neither does it imply that there was no vernacular literature about the First Crusade. There is one Occitan example of early twelfth-century vernacular literature on the First Crusade; vernacular lyrics about crusade are found from the mid-twelfth century onwards; and there is evidence of vernacular literary conventions about the Crusade from very early on.⁵ Nor does it imply that the First Crusade was not invoked as an example until after Hattin. It was a central theme in Eugenius III’s *Quantum praedecessores* after the fall of Edessa. But it is not until the end of the century that we see a strong push to translate Latin accounts of the Crusade into the vernacular.

We can therefore use translation as a lens for examining shifting perceptions of crusade, and the way in which the story of the First Crusade was translated and adapted to reflect contemporary preoccupations. We can also reverse that lens, using the portrayal of the First Crusade as a case study for tracking changing approaches to translation.

Medieval translation theory and practice: preliminary observations⁶

The modern translator works on a continuum between the formal and the dynamic, in other words between the painfully literal and the relatively free adaptation, by and large in prose except in special cases.⁷ For the medieval translator the boundaries were drawn in a very different way. For translation from the Bible and classical sources, the theory of “*translatio studii et imperii*” dictated that texts had primacy and must be translated as literally as possible to avoid falsehood; practice however did not necessarily follow theory. The translation of medieval texts themselves led to different considerations. Translation did not form part of the medieval curriculum and did not have its own theoretical basis, whether from Latin to the vernacular or intra-vernacular. Insofar as there was a theoretical basis it was borrowed from exegesis and *inventio*, tending towards the explanation and amplification of the text rather than literal rendering. This meant that the concept of *auctoritas* was crucial – who was the source of the material and how far could it therefore be trusted? Translation was heavily influenced by context and purpose: “le texte-source . . . est toujours susceptible d’aménagements que rien n’autorise à appeler ‘trahisons’ aussi longtemps que la matière est respectée, et ayant la fonction de mieux adapter le message au public qu’on doit édifier ou instruire.”⁸ In other words, translation occupied a continuum stretching from the literal to free adaptation. Medieval translators might, like their modern counterparts, work interlingually, albeit with Latin in a different and privileged place. But they had much more freedom to work intralingually, adapting and rewriting texts to meet changing cultural preferences.

Translation practice did not of course remain static. It evolved during the Middle Ages. Latin became less well known from the thirteenth century, leading to a need for more translations as the vernacular was increasingly used. Language itself evolved, to the point where in the fifteenth century Villon could write a “ballade en vieil langage françoys.”⁹ And cultural preferences evolved in line with social and political trends. So we need also to take a longitudinal perspective to a history of translation which stretches over four centuries.

The impact of the First Crusade¹⁰

The success of the Crusade in taking Jerusalem against all the odds was seen as literally miraculous. In the words of Robert the Monk, “post creationem mundi quid mirabilius factum est praeter salutiferae crucis mysterium, quam quod modernis temporibus actum est in hoc itinere nostrorum Hierosolimitanorum?”¹¹ The

First Crusade was not only seen as an extraordinary and divinely ordained success at the time. It was to become an example repeatedly cited to inspire future generations of crusaders to recover Jerusalem. In effect it was the only crusade which achieved its goal, and the only crusade to have demonstrated God's support unequivocally through the recovery of Jerusalem.

The First Crusade produced probably the largest number of accounts for any single event in the Middle Ages – within some 20 years there were four eyewitness or quasi eyewitness accounts, two accounts based on eyewitness testimony, three by Benedictine clerics, and a Latin poem.¹² Accounts continued to be produced as part of wider histories until well into the twelfth century, for example in the chronicles of Orderic Vitalis and Otto of Freisingen.¹³ A late and full account was produced shortly before the fall of Outremer by William, archbishop of Tyre.¹⁴

All these texts were, with one exception, in Latin. There is little if any evidence of translation into the vernacular. The only vernacular text for which we have any evidence at this time was written in the Limousin and in Occitan. It is clear from the description we have of this work that it was seen as something unusual if not unique. There is no suggestion that it was a translation of a Latin work.¹⁵

In part, the lack of vernacular translation is simply a function of the time at which the first histories of the Crusade were written. It would have been hard for a vernacular form to carry the same *auctoritas* as Latin at the start of the twelfth century; and there was no obvious genre or form in which such a work could have been written. The earliest vernacular histories we have date from around 1140 in Anglo-Norman England.¹⁶

However the lack of translations also suggests that there was no perceived need for them. The emphasis in the Latin texts lies on recording and explaining the miraculous events of the Crusade as a precursor to the founding of Outremer. Jerusalem lay in Christian hands; it did not need to be conquered. This is not of course to suggest that there were not periodic calls for support to Outremer or further crusades and expeditions. But dire warnings about what might happen were one thing; the actual loss of Jerusalem was another.

The impact of defeat at Hattin

It is hard to overstate the impact of the battle of Hattin in July 1187 and the subsequent loss of Jerusalem. In one day, Saladin wiped out much of the fighting force of Outremer. Jerusalem was ceded, and other towns fell in quick succession. If the conquest of Jerusalem a century earlier had been seen as miraculous, the loss of Jerusalem sent shockwaves through Europe. William of Sicily for example was reported to have shut himself away in a hairshirt for four days before promptly sending reinforcements.¹⁷ The impact was equally felt lower down the social pyramid. According to the *Itinerarium* for example, men sent each other distaffs and wool as a not very subtle prompt.¹⁸ The First Crusade quickly acquired a new relevance as a result, with its events taking on exemplary force. Ambroise, for example, compares an insulting song about Richard with the heroism of Bohemond, Tancred, and Godfrey.¹⁹ The crusaders of 1099 had taken Jerusalem from

the Saracens; it was for their descendants of 1187 to emulate them. And this meant that the story of the Crusade needed as never before to be made accessible and enjoyable to secular audiences if they were to be encouraged to emulate their predecessors, go to the East and save Jerusalem again from the infidels. So it is hardly surprising that this crisis of confidence marks the first translations into the vernacular alongside Ambroise's vernacular account of the Third Crusade.

This does not imply that Latin accounts did not continue to be adapted and recopied. Robert's *Historia Iherosolimitana* was recast in verse by the *Solymarius* of Gunther of Pairis and possibly by the *Antiocheis* of Joseph of Exeter.²⁰ Neither does it imply that translation into the vernacular is a direct consequence of Hattin. There was a much wider landscape of translation, of vernacular historiography and of accounts of current events of which this formed part. And the impact of Hattin is also reflected in other genres: thus, Crusade lyrics appear in far greater numbers after 1187.²¹ But it is from this point that we find vernacular accounts of the Crusade achieving popularity in both verse and prose. Two vernacular poems appeared around the end of the twelfth century: the Old French *Chanson d'Antioche* and its companion texts the *Chanson des Chétifs* and *Chanson de Jérusalem*, which became the nucleus of the Old French Crusade Cycle; and an Anglo-Norman text variously known as the *Siège d'Antioche* and the *Chanson de la Première Croisade*.²² The Old French prose translation of William of Tyre known as the *Eracles* was to appear early in the thirteenth century.

The central trilogy of the Old French Crusade Cycle comprising the *Chanson d'Antioche*, *Chanson des Chétifs*, and *Chanson de Jérusalem* retold the story of the First Crusade in verse using the form and conventions of the *chanson de geste*. Of these three texts, the *Jérusalem* shows little more than a general knowledge of events with a large admixture of fantasy, and the *Chétifs* is entirely fantasy albeit possibly harbouring a translation of a text from Antioch at its heart. The *Antioche* is a different matter. The first two thirds of the text show very strong similarities with Albert of Aachen while stopping short of a translation. Characters and episodes are found in the two texts which do not occur elsewhere, although there are also significant omissions. This suggests that the author was using a summarised or abstracted version of Albert rather than a full text.²³ The remaining third is translated almost word for word from Robert's *Historia*.²⁴ The text is not simply a translation. A number of anecdotal episodes are inserted which cannot be sourced to either.²⁵ There is a heavy framing of conventional *chanson de geste* material about combat and Saracens as well as a long prefatory episode designed to set up the plot framework for the trilogy.²⁶ But at its heart the text is a translation of two Latin chronicles, albeit one in summarised form. While there is ample evidence for crossover between Latin sources and their rendering in stylised literary form in the *chanson de geste* – in for example the *Guillaume* cycle – it is hard to bring to mind another *chanson de geste* which is largely translated from historical material.²⁷ There had of course been translations of classical Latin texts by historians into the vernacular during the twelfth century.²⁸ But a translation of a contemporary or near-contemporary Latin text into French was much rarer at this period.

Either the composer of the *Antioche* was capable of reading and translating Latin, or he had an Old French source to draw on no longer extant, which itself translated these chronicles. The text itself suggests an Old French predecessor:

Oï l'avés chanter com une autre chançon,
Mais n'estoit pas rimee ensi com nos l'avon,
Rimee est de novel et mise en quaregnon.
Mais cil qui le rima n'i vaut metre son non,
Por çou que tels l'oïst qui'n fronçast le gernon.²⁹

This suggests that the version in the Cycle drew on an earlier translation which at some point was put into Old French verse. However the text makes no attempt to claim the *auctoritas* it might have derived from its Latin sources. Whatever an earlier author's intention in translating, stated or implicit, no hint on his approach or comment on his source material has been preserved in the later *remaniement*.

The second vernacular text to appear at this time was a long Anglo-Norman verse account preserved in two manuscripts, both preserved in England (Hatton 77 and Spalding 31134), and as yet lacking a full edition. This is far from being a translation as far as one can tell from what has been edited so far. But interestingly the author is very keen to establish its credentials as one. He explains that it was "latimee" by a "clers provencel," then discovered by Baldric of Bourgueil who translated it into the vernacular "por ce qu'I mierz l'entendent qui ne sunt letree."³⁰ This reads like a garbled reminiscence of earlier texts. There is indeed an early Occitan account of the Crusade according to Geoffrey of Vigeois as just described, but the author was a "miles literatus" rather than a cleric and did not write in Latin. Baldric certainly did rewrite and improve a text, but it was the Latin *Gesta Francorum*, and Baldric wrote in Latin, not the vernacular.³¹ What is more interesting than the accuracy of this elaborate and unconvincing textual history is the fact that the author was so keen to badge his work as a translation in the first place. Baldric's work was well known in England, forming the basis for example for Orderic Vitalis's book IX.³² So it was the obvious antecedent for an insular author who wanted to claim *auctoritas* for his work. The author's grip on textual history was somewhat shaky, but clearly he knew enough to evoke a version with at least some link to reality and was clear that it mattered to give the work the *auctoritas* of a translation.³³

These two texts thus approach the question of the *auctoritas* of their source material in very different ways. The *Antioche* is largely a translation from Latin but does not, at least in the reworked versions we have, explicitly claim the *auctoritas* this would bring. The *Siège* by contrast is not a translation but invents an elaborate history to give it the *auctoritas* of one. The *Siège* author looks backwards to a twelfth-century tradition of vernacular verse historiography which drew its legitimacy from Latin antecedents, claiming and exaggerating such antecedents. The *Antioche* author writes at a time when vernacular prose historiography was gaining legitimacy as a form in its own right. It needed to demonstrate *auctoritas*, but that *auctoritas* did not have to be Latin and hence the author feels no need to

refer to Latin antecedents or his credentials as translator even though much of his text is drawn from Latin antecedents.

The two texts do however share an important characteristic. Both present the First Crusade as an example to be followed by contemporaries. The *Antioche* is clear on its purpose:

Ceste chançon doit on cier tenir et amer
 Car tant maint bon exanple i puet proudon trover . . .
 Ki la puet par bon cuer son cors por Deu pener,
 Jhesus li rois de gloire nel vaura oblir,
 Ains le fera en glorie hautement coroner³⁴

In contrast to the lack of any comment on translation, the prologue to the text is an elaborate seven-laisse justification of the need to go to the assistance of Outremer and the example set by the First Crusade. The *Siège* takes a similar approach:

Pernez a cels essample qui anciënement
 Guerpirent lur terres et lur edifiement
 Por servir Damedeu, le roi omnipotent³⁵

The message is thus clear. But it needed to be couched in a form familiar to its audience to inspire them to go out and do likewise. So both texts adopt the form, language, and conventions of the *chanson de geste*. This casts the texts firmly in a popular mould with conventions familiar to precisely the audience who might be persuaded to go east to recover Jerusalem: the secular nobility.³⁶ They were presented with a story told in a familiar way, featuring nobles like themselves who gained either wealth or a martyr's place in Heaven, placed on a continuum of heroism with Roland, Ogier, and Charlemagne.³⁷ The example was a powerful one, and conveyed by translation not just of language but of genre.

The third and slightly later text to be produced in the vernacular was the *Eracles*, a prose translation of the Latin chronicle of William of Tyre. Recent scholarship places the date between 1219–1223 and places the translation in the context of the Fifth Crusade and the French court.³⁸ The *Eracles* was a popular text compared to William's original, surviving in 51 manuscripts compared to William's nine. This suggests the much greater reach of a vernacular text. The translator does not identify himself and offers no clue as to his intentions or audience. His translation is close to the original in order and content. However he consistently makes small alterations which turn history into chivalric epic. For example, he omits William's classical allusions and theological references, adds explanations, and simplifies, rewrites accounts of battles such as Montgisard in 1177, and adds what seems to be material from his own and other eyewitnesses' experience.³⁹ The First Crusade forms a substantial part of both William and of the *Eracles*. The translator follows William in not laying stress on the exemplary function of the Crusade. The focus is on the story of Outremer as a whole. But the *Eracles* casts

a shimmer of epic heroism over William's account in a way designed to appeal to potential future crusaders.⁴⁰

The objective of translating these three texts is clear. The loss of Jerusalem created a massive impetus both for its immediate recapture and for crusading more generally. The First Crusade acquired new resonance as the example to follow. So it mattered to present that story in a way which was easily comprehensible to the target audience: the middle-ranking and minor nobility. A Latin account would not be widely understood. A vernacular account would. And casting it in the idiom of a *chanson de geste* put it in a familiar idiom which would chime with audience expectations. It would play too to their self-image – the examples of heroism both by crusaders and by the legendary epic heroes to whom they are compared would inspire the audience, and tacitly put them on a continuum with those heroes. Yet the authenticity of the underlying story could be guaranteed by the claim, actual or fictional, that it was a translation and therefore came with inbuilt *auctoritas*. In effect, the earlier accounts of the Crusade undergo a double translation to make them accessible to potential crusaders: a translation of language and a translation of ethos.

The influence of the vernacular on subsequent accounts

The *Siège* did not gain further currency although it was copied at the end of the fourteenth century in the context of Bishop De Spenser's disastrous crusade.⁴¹ But the Cycle and the *Eracles* became the foundation of many if not all subsequent accounts of the Crusade, metamorphosing continuously to reflect the different circumstances in which it was evoked.

This is evident in a major piece of translation at the end of the thirteenth century. The Spanish king Alfonso X commissioned a series of universal histories which were continued by his successor Sancho IV. One of these, the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, traced the history of the Crusades all the way from the fall of Jerusalem in 628 to the Seventh Crusade, in a narrative arc which places a heavy emphasis on the First Crusade.⁴² The purpose of the compilation was clear: to retell past exploits as an encouragement to participate in the Reconquista, "oír de los libros antiguos y las ystorias de buenos fechos que fizieran los hombres buenos antepasados."⁴³ Godfrey and the success of the First Crusade are seen as an apogee of heroism from which Christendom progressively descends into Hattin and increasing chaos.⁴⁴ The Reconquista becomes a way back to that initial glory, and conversely the example of the First Crusade acquires a new relevance to be emulated.⁴⁵

What is striking is that the sources of the *Gran Conquista* were as far as we can reconstruct entirely vernacular. The framework was provided by the Old French *Eracles*. Material on the Crusade itself was inserted from the OFCC with additions where different from the extant fragment of the *Canso d'Antiocha* and significant other chunks of material which may come from lost texts in Old French, Occitan, or both.⁴⁶ This is the first time in First Crusade historiography where we find translation between vernaculars rather than from Latin to vernacular.

The fall of Acre in 1291 marked the final loss of territory in Outremer.⁴⁷ After the initial shock, the reality of the situation was recognised. The fourteenth century was full of good intentions about crusades which came to little. More charitably put, crusading became a state of mind and a means of achieving grace, a matter of belief rather than action. The First Crusade was seen as a precedent, by now remote, which might provide a theoretical inspiration but no longer provided a realistic example.⁴⁸

In the sources this is reflected as a lessening of focus on the actual events of the First Crusade in tandem with a much stronger focus on its symbolism and significance. Thus using manuscripts of the most popular Latin account, Robert's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, as a proxy there is a notable dearth of fourteenth-century examples.⁴⁹ The only prose text to be copied and translated during this period was the *Eracles*, which was translated into Italian by Lorenzo di Firenze under the title *Il libro del Passagio di Terra Sancta* and retranslated into Latin in Bologna (suggesting that William of Tyre's Latin text was not readily available).⁵⁰

The dominant account of the Crusade at this time however was provided through the Cycle and the texts which stemmed from it, hand in hand with a focus on Godfrey of Bouillon, now transformed into one of the Nine Worthies. The Cycle itself had continued to evolve during the thirteenth century, existing in four different and concurrent versions. It was adapted into prose and at the end of the century an abridgement was produced, which is preserved in Paris BN 781 alongside anecdotes from Bernard le Trésorier and *Li Ordene de Chevalerie*. The author comments rather disarmingly "si me samle que le rime est mout plaisans et mout bele, mais mout est longue."⁵¹ In other words, the text was summarised and translated into prose to reflect evolving taste, with an undertone that prose was more trustworthy than verse.

The Cycle also provided inspiration for a new adaptation reflecting contemporary tastes for *chansons de geste* with a heavy admixture of the supernatural and fantastic. In 1356, a massive 35,000 line compilation based loosely on the *Eracles* and the OFCC saw the light of day: the *Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroid de Bouillon*.⁵² And this was not all – further long poems including *Baudouin de Sebourg* and the now lost *Saladin* covered among other things a visit to Fairyland and the legendary genealogy of Saladin.⁵³ The events of the First Crusade are not translated linguistically. But they are translated into a new genre and idiom reflecting contemporary preferences.

The Turkish threat

By the end of the fourteenth century therefore the First Crusade was seen through an almost exclusively vernacular and literary prism. The Turkish advance towards Europe culminating in the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to Mehmed II galvanised eagerness to go on crusade, particularly after the accession of Aeneas Silvius as Pius II in 1458.⁵⁴ In practice the Crusade of 1463 under Pius II ended ignominiously with his death. But the concept of crusade had acquired a new and pressing actuality. Regaining Jerusalem remained as a theoretical aspiration. But defending

Europe against the Turkish incursions was a very real priority. This was reflected in a new wave of translations which adapted the earlier vernacular accounts of the Crusade to meet modern tastes and preoccupations.

In Germany, Robert's *Historia* was translated no fewer than five times during the fifteenth century: under the title of *Die Uzurung d'ez herezaugen Gotfrides von Bullion*, in a translation of 1466 by the Stadtschreiber Peter Eschenloer preserved in Wrocław, and in other manuscripts.⁵⁵ A German version was produced by the printer and publisher Johann Bämle in Augsburg in 1482 with 47 woodcuts and an explicit parallel with Turkish incursions.⁵⁶ Robert was still being translated in the sixteenth century. There was an Italian translation by Baldelli in Florence, and his text is the first in Sigmund Feyerabend's *Reyssbuch dess heyligen Lands* in 1584 alongside works such as Mandeville and reworked to reflect a popularising approach.⁵⁷

The vernacular *Eracles* equally continued to be adapted and translated. It was used as a main source by Benedetto Accolti's *De bello a christianis contra barbaros gesto pro Christo pro sepulcro et Iudea recuperandis* of 1464; this told the story of the Crusade over four books.⁵⁸ Sebastien Mamerot's *Les Passages d'Outremer* was produced in 1472–1474 at the request of Louis de Laval with illustrations by the renowned Jean Colombe.⁵⁹ The *Eracles* was translated into Flemish in 1486 in Harlem, and reprinted in 1510 and 1511 in Antwerp.⁶⁰ In 1481 it was drawn on heavily by Caxton to produce his *Godffrey of Boloyne*, a text which focussed on Godfrey's role in the success of the Crusade.⁶¹

The context might have changed but the approaches are familiar. Texts were adapted to appeal to a contemporary audience. Accolti, for example, used the *Eracles* as a main source but adapted it heavily to produce a classicising rhetorical version of the Crusade. For example, he recast battles in Livian style, invented sieges and introduced rhetorical debates. Mamerot's text was embellished with full-page illustrations from one of the best illuminators of the day. Bämle provided woodcuts to help his audience experience the events of the Crusade vicariously.

The exemplary function similarly remained. Caxton, for example, is clear that he writes to encourage opposition to the Turks: "[the Turks] have comen over and gotten that imperial cyte, Constantinople aforsayd, and many royaume and contree to the grete damage and hurte of alle Cristendom . . . to thentente tencourage them by the redyng and heeryng of the merveyllous historyes herin comprised."⁶²

This went hand in hand with a continuing focus on ancestral and genealogical glory. Accounts as ever needed to be couched in form and language which appealed to contemporary descendants. By this stage verse was seen as too constraining and archaic a medium. In 1465 Marie de Clèves, the third wife of Charles d'Orléans, commissioned a prose abridgement of the *Chevalier au Cygne* from Berthault de Villebresme; the Clèves family claimed descent from the Chevalier au Cygne.⁶³ The prologue is clear on the purpose of the translation: "mestre et translater icellui livre e[t] memorable histoire de ladicte ancienne rime et obscur lengaige en prose et lengaige françois cler et entendible au ce qu'elle et les liseurs et escouteurs d'icellui puissant plus facilement avoir congnoissance de la merveilleuse et plaisant histoire dudict chevalier et de son tres noble et glorieux lignaige."⁶⁴ In

other words, translation had a new function—to make comprehensible to the present day texts regarded as too archaic and difficult to read.

So by this time translation had acquired a new function over and above the wish to entertain and to provide examples: to make the exemplary and ancestral heroic past comprehensible to the present day. And, despite a renewed interest in Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, that interest remained firmly based on the two vernacular texts: the *Eracles* and the First and Second Crusade cycles. The threat inspiring these fifteenth century translations might have changed since 1187 or 1291. But the response remained recognisable. The First Crusade continued to be cited as an example. And translations continued to be couched in a format and ethos which reflected the preoccupations of a secular audience, whether depicting the Crusade in terms of classical Livian rhetoric or focusing on illustrious ancestors or finally, with Tasso, turning the Crusade into an escapist fairytale, where the faint ghosts of the First Crusade heroes are still visible behind the demons, nymphs, and enchantments of Tasso's epic poem.⁶⁵

Conclusion

Vernacular translation was central to the crusade movement. Crusading depended fundamentally on the ability of popes and preachers to inspire enthusiasm among secular audiences to abandon home and family and head East with the hope, but by no means the guarantee, of a successful outcome. That message had to be put to secular audiences in a form they could understand if they were to understand and act upon it. So translation of the message was essential in building a climate of expectation which might support the more explicit messages in sermons and papal letters.⁶⁶

It was the defeat at Hattin which acted as a catalyst for the vernacular in disseminating this message. General messages about the potential to gain individual salvation through crusade suddenly took on a new force; interest in the First Crusade was galvanised as it became a reminder that Jerusalem could be taken and was held up as the example to follow. And this meant that translation of accounts of the Crusade into a readily comprehensible vernacular idiom and literary format became central to the crusade effort.

This is certainly not intended to suggest that these texts were the only way of engaging a secular audience. There is ample evidence of preaching having a major impact.⁶⁷ Family stories of crusading ancestors had a powerful influence.⁶⁸ But representing the events of the Crusade as an example cast in a heroic and epic mould spoke powerfully to a warrior nobility.

Over the succeeding centuries, the approach to crusading evolved. But the two dominant strands remained the translations of the thirteenth century: the fictional verse Old French Crusade Cycle, which traced its origins back to the translations preserved in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, and the prose *Eracles* translated from William of Tyre. They were joined in the fifteenth century by the Latin account of Robert. The First Crusade continued to be evoked as an example until the sixteenth century. It was these translations, repeatedly retranslated and adapted,

which largely provided the basis of how the Crusade was depicted and ensured its ongoing relevance as an example to follow.

In the words of Robert, the Crusade “litterali compaginatione commendari debet notitiae tam praesentium quam futurorum.”⁶⁹ The efforts of generations of translators were to make that hope a reality.

Notes

- 1 *The Old French Crusade Cycle*, eds. Jan A. Nelson and Emanuel J. Mickel, 10 vols. (Tuscaloosa, 1977–2003), hereafter OFCC; *Eracles: Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs: texte français du XIIIe siècle*, ed. Paulin Paris, 2 vols. (Paris, 1879–80).
- 2 *The “Historia Iherosolimitana” of Robert the Monk*, eds. Damien Kempf and Marcus Bull (Woodbridge, 2013).
- 3 Giles Constable, “The Historiography of the Crusades,” in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parvix Mattakedeh (Washington, 2001), 1–22.
- 4 Jeanette Beer, *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, 1997); Julia Marvin, “Latinity and Vernacularity in the Tradition of Geoffrey of Monmouth: Text, Apparatus and Readership,” *Medieval Chronicle* 8 (2013): 1–41.
- 5 *The Canso d’Antiocha: an Occitan Epic Chronicle of the First Crusade*, eds. and trans. Linda Paterson and Carl Sweetenham (Aldershot, 2003); Linda Paterson, *Singing the Crusades: French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movements, 1137–1336* (Woodbridge, 2018); Stefan Vander Elst, *The Knight, The Cross and the Song: Crusade Propaganda and Chivalric Literature* (Philadelphia, 2017).
- 6 This very brief summary of a large field draws in particular on the following: Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge, 1991); Emma Campbell and Robert Mills, *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory* (Cambridge, 2012), Introduction 1–20; Douglas Kelly, “*Translatio studii*: Translation, Adaptation and Allegory in Medieval French Literature,” *Philological Quarterly* 57/3 (1978): 287–310; William Arrowsmith and Roger Shattuck, *The Craft and Context of Translation: A Symposium* (Austin, 1961); Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies* (London, 1980; repr. 1981); Curt J. Wittlin, “Les traducteurs au moyen age: observations sur leurs techniques et difficultés,” *Actes du XIIIe congrès international de linguistique et de philologie romanes tenu à l’Université Laval (Québec, Canada) du 29 août au 5 septembre 1971*, eds. Marcel Boudreault and Frankwalt Möhren, 2 vols. (Quebec, 1976), 2: 601–11.
- 7 For modern reflections on translation see *Is That a Fish in your Ear? The Amazing Adventure of Translation*, David Bellos (London, 2011); *Experiences in Translation*, Umberto Eco (Toronto, 2001).
- 8 ‘The source text is always likely to be altered; this does not mean that the text is compromised providing that the subject matter is respected and that the aim is to adapt as far as possible the message to an audience needing to be edified or instructed’ (my translation). Claude Buridant, “*Translatio medievalis*: théorie pratique de la traduction médiévale,” *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 21/1 (1983): 81–136, at 117.
- 9 *François Villon: Oeuvres*, ed. Auguste Longnon, fourth edition reviewed Lucien Foulet (Paris, 1980), 24–26.
- 10 For a recent history see Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (London, 2004).
- 11 *Historia Iherosolimitana, Prologus*; “since the creation of the world what more miraculous undertaking has there been (other than the mystery of the redeeming Cross) than what was achieved in our own time by this journey of our own people to Jerusalem?” *Robert the Monk’s History of the First Crusade*, trans. Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot, 2005).

- 12 For overview see Susan B. Edgington, "The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence," in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester, 1997), 55–77; Jean Flori, *Chroniqueurs et propagandistes: introduction critique aux sources de la première croisade* (Geneva, 2010).
- 13 *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–80); *Otonis episcopi Frisingensis Chronica sive, Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH (Hanover, 1912).
- 14 William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1986).
- 15 Described in Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica Gaufredi coenobitae*, ed. Philippe Labbé, *Novae Bibliothecae Manuscripti Librorum: Rerum Aquitanicarum praesertim Bituricensium uberima collectio* (1657), 2: 279–342, chap. I.30.
- 16 Peter Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Woodbridge, 1999).
- 17 *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbas. The Chronicle of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I A.D. 1169–1192, known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1867), 2:15.
- 18 *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1864), I.17.
- 19 Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte: histoire en vers de la troisième croisade*, ed. Gaston Paris (Paris, 1897), lines 10611–54.
- 20 "Le Solymarius de Gunther de Pairis," ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, *AOL* I.551–61; *Joseph Iscanus: Werke und Briefe*, ed. Ludwig Gompf (Leiden, 1970), 61–67: 26 lines survive, and it is not clear from these how far the work focussed on King Antiochus and how far the events of the Crusade.
- 21 Paterson, *Singing the Crusades*.
- 22 *La Chanson d'Antioche: chanson de geste du dernier quart du XIIe siècle*, ed. Bernard Guidot (Paris, 2011); *Les Chétifs*, ed. Geoffrey Myers, OFCC, vol. 5 (1981); *La Chanson de Jerusalem*, ed. Nigel Thorp, OFCC, vol. 6 (1992). The first 5000 lines of the *Siège* have been edited by Jennifer Gabel Aguirre: *La Chanson de la Première Croisade en ancien français d'après Baudri de Bourgueil* (Heidelberg, 2015); a new edition and translation are being prepared by Linda Paterson, Simon Parsons and myself.
- 23 *Historia Jerosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007); *The Chanson d'Antioche: an Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans. Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (Farnham, 2011), Introduction 15–19.
- 24 For detailed textual analysis see Suzanne Duparc-Quioç, *La Chanson d'Antioche: Etude* (Paris, 1976–78).
- 25 For example, the episodes concerning the death of Gosselin of Montaigu (lines 2509–48) and the heroism of Raimbaut Creton (lines 3815–93).
- 26 *Antioche*, Introduction 26–33.
- 27 See Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VI.3; Martin de Riquer, *Les chansons de geste françaises*, 2nd ed. trans. Irenée Cluzel (Paris, 1957), 134–39.
- 28 Jacques Monfrin, "Les traducteurs et leur public en France," *Journal des Savants* 149 (1964): 5–20.
- 29 "You have heard this recounted in another song, but not in rhyme like the version we have: it has acquired a new rhyme scheme and been written down. However the author who turned it into rhyme did not dare put his name to it in case his audience turned up their noses at it.," *Antioche* lines 78–82.
- 30 *Siège* lines 36–44.
- 31 *Baldric of Bourgueil: Historia Jerosolimitana*, ed. Stephen Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014).

- 32 Daniel Roach, "Orderic Vitalis and the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 42 (2016): 177–201.
- 33 On truth assertions in vernacular poetry see H.L. Levy, "As My Auctour Seyth," *Medium Aevum* 12 (1943): 25–39; more generally Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1984).
- 34 "This song should be highly prized and loved because noble men can find so many good examples in it . . . Jesus, the King in glory, will make sure He does not overlook anyone who willingly endures bodily suffering for God there [in Outremer]; on the contrary He will have him crowned in glory on high." *Antioche* lines 4–5, 141–43.
- 35 "Take your cue from these men who, a long time ago, left their lands and possessions to serve God, the Omnipotent king": *Siège* lines 17–19.
- 36 See Robert Cook, "Crusade Propaganda in the Epic Cycles of the Crusade," in *Journeys Towards God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo, 1992), 157–75: "an energetic, if unofficial, parallel Crusading propaganda, available in a form easily digested by a broad audience."
- 37 *Antioche* lines 8614–17, 9091–93.
- 38 Philip Handyside, *The Old French William of Tyre* (Leiden, 2015).
- 39 Bernard Hamilton, "The Old French Translation of William of Tyre as an Historical Source," in *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 2, eds. Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips (Cambridge, 2003), 93–112. For Montgisard see XXI.23.
- 40 Hamilton, "The Old French Translation," 93–94, quoting John Pryor: the text is an "epic chronicle of the deeds of the French nobility in the Crusades and in many respects suggests a prose version of a *chanson de geste*."
- 41 The Spalding manuscript of the text, British Library Add, 34114.
- 42 *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, ed. Louis Cooper, 4 vols. (Bogota, 1979).
- 43 *Gran Conquista*, Prologue, 2: "to hear from ancient books and histories the great deeds which great predecessors accomplished," my translation.
- 44 "La composición de la Gran Conquista de Ultramar," Francisco Bautista, *Revista de Literatura Medieval* 17 (2005): 33–70.
- 45 *La Tercera Crónica de Alfonso X: la Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, Cristina González (London, 1992).
- 46 Studied in detail by Gaston Paris, "La *Chanson d'Antioche* provençale et la *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*," *Romania* 17 (1888): 513–41; 19 (1890): 562–91; 22 (1893): 345–63; Duparc-Quioc, *Etude* 188–203.
- 47 Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006, repr. 2007), 822.
- 48 Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades from Lyons to Alcazar 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992).
- 49 Kempf and Bull, "Introduction," lxxv–lxxiv.
- 50 See *Godeffroy of Boloynne, or, The Siege and Conquest of Jerusalem*, ed. Mary Noyes Colvin (London, 1893), Introduction xvii–ix.
- 51 *Godefroi de Buillon*, vol. 10 of the Cycle, ed. Jan Boyd Roberts (1996), 1 lines 4–5.
- 52 *Le Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroid de Bouillon: poème historique*, ed. Frédéric-Auguste-Ferdinand-Thomas de Reiffenberg and Adolphe Borgnet, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1846–59).
- 53 Larry S. Crist and Robert F. Cook, *Le deuxième cycle de la croisade* (Geneva, 1972). In an acid put-down Emile Roy commented that the poem "ressemble à l'épée de ce brave Corbarant, longue, plate, mortelle": "Les poèmes relatifs à la première croisade: le poème de 1356 et ses sources," *Romania* 55 (1929): 411–68, 431.
- 54 Housley, *Later Crusades* 419, "the great age of Crusading was beginning to be viewed as an extraordinary historical phenomenon."
- 55 See Thomas Buck, "Von der Kreuzzugsgeschichte zum Reisebuch. Zur Historia Hierosolymitana des Robertus Monachus," *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für*

- Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* (2002): 321–55. Manuscripts cited are Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg M.ch.f.38; Wrocław University Library IV.F.105 and also National Museum in Prague, Ms.d.6, translated Vaclav Bok, *Der Breslauer Stadtschreiber Peter Eschenloer: Übersetzung des Berichts von Robertus Monachus über den ersten Kreuzzug* (Hamburg, 2018); and Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen 658 (dated 1465), Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Munich, CGM 224, Frankfurt-am-Main Stiftsbibliothek und Universitätsbibliothek germ. Quartl11, London British Library Add. 22622. For arguments about translation by Heinrich Steinhöwel see Friedrich Kraft, *Heinrich Steinhöwels Verdeutschung der Historia Hierosolymitana des Robertus Monachus: eine literarhistorische Untersuchung* (Strassburg, 1905).
- 56 “ein wahrhaft und bewerte histori wie die türcken . . . die cristelichen Kirchen vor vil iaren in manigerley Weiss angefochten; wir yetz der gleichen auch dulden und leiden müssen” (“a true and credible story about how the Turks . . . attacked the Christian churches many years ago in many ways . . . we now have to endure and suffer the same” (fo. 1 ro; my translation).
 - 57 *Historia di Roberto Monaco della Guerra fatta da principi christiani, contra Saracini per l’acquisto di terra Santa*, Francesco Baldelli (Florence, 1552); *Reyssbuch des heyligen Lands*, Sigmund Feyerabend (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1584); Buck, “Kreuzzugschronik als säkularen Reise bzw Abenteuerroman, (“a Crusade chronicle as secular journey not to say *roman d’aventure*”), 355.
 - 58 Benedetto Accolti, *De bello a cristianis contra barbaros gesto pro Christo pro sepulcro et ludea recuperandis*, RHC, vol. 5: 25–620. See Robert Black, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1985).
 - 59 Sébastien Mamerot, *Les Passages d’Outremer*, eds. Thierry Delcourt and Danielle Quéruel (Cologne, 2009).
 - 60 No title: begins “hier beghient prologhe van der Scoene historia Hertoghe Godewort van Boloen.”
 - 61 William Caxton, *The Boke Intituled Eracles, and also of Godefrey of Boloyn* (Westminster, 1482); ed. Noyes Colvin, *Godeffroy of Boloyn*.
 - 62 “[The Turks] have invaded and taken that Imperial city, Constantinople as I said previously, and many kingdoms and countries, which is highly damaging and injurious to all of Christendom . . . the intention is to encourage them as they read and hear the wonderful stories which are included,” my translation; *Godeffroy* 3–4.
 - 63 *La Geste du Chevalier au Cygne*, ed. Edmond d’Emplincourt, OFCC, vol. 9 (Alabama, 1989).
 - 64 “to render and translate this book and renowned story out of the old rhyme form referred to earlier and obscure language into prose and a French language which is clear and comprehensible so that she and those who read and listen to this text can have easier access to the marvellous and entertaining story of the knight referred to earlier and of his highly noble and glorious ancestors,” my translation; *Geste* 2. 2–8.
 - 65 Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata*, ed. Lanfranco Caretti (Turin 1971; rev. 1993).
 - 66 See e.g. *De Expugnacione Lyxbonensi* pp. 70–71: “episcopus sermonem coram omnibus lingua Latina habuit, ut per interpretes cuiusque lingue sermo eius omnibus manifestaretur” (“the bishop delivered a sermon in Latin, so that it might be made known to everyone in his own language through interpreters”), *The Conquest of Lisbon*, ed. and trans. Charles Wendell David (Columbia, 1936; rev. 2001).
 - 67 Michel Zink, *La prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Paris, 1976).
 - 68 Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Cornell, 2012).
 - 69 “deserves to be publicised through a faithful account as much to those living now as for future generations”; *Prologus*.

Part 5

The Latin East and the West in the thirteenth century



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15 Biebelried near Würzburg

A thirteenth-century Hospitaller castle in Franconia and its contexts

Karl Borchardt

The present volume deals primarily with castles built by crusaders and military-religious orders in the Latin East. What follows concerns a Hospitaller castle in Central Europe, far away from all enemies of the faith. Outside the Levant and similar border regions in Greece (the Byzantine territories), Spain (the Iberian Peninsula), or the Baltic, the military-religious orders did not usually build fortifications. As a rule, their possessions in the West required only a manor, sometimes a fortified manor house, but not a strong castle. During the thirteenth century, however, the military-religious orders began to buy possessions in the West, and such purchases did sometimes include castles. One such example was Biebelried in Franconia, some 12 kilometres to the east of Würzburg. Generally speaking, western castles aimed at protecting western possessions of the military-religious orders. Such investments were sometimes held to be necessary in view of many feuds and wars in Latin Europe. During the thirteenth century, Franconia and other parts of Germany were ravaged by almost uninterrupted territorial wars. The quarrels between partisans of the empire and of the papacy only served to complicate and to intensify this warfare. The main protagonists in Franconia were the bishop of Würzburg, several families of counts and nobles, among them the Henneberg, the Castell, and the Hohenlohe, then the members of the knightly class, the *ministeriales* (Dienstmannen), plus a few towns such as Würzburg or Nuremberg.¹ Biebelried and other western Hospitaller castles raise the question whether the military-religious orders transferred oriental technologies for fortifications into the West.

Contrary to the well-known Hospitaller castle at Mailberg, a twelfth century donation on the borders between Austria and Moravia,² Biebelried did not protect estates against frontier raids. Instead, Biebelried was situated at an important crossroads from Frankfurt to Nuremberg and from northern Germany to Augsburg. A knightly family who were *ministeriales* or servants of the bishop of Würzburg³ owned the castle and some estates in the village.⁴ In 1240 Swigger von Oberbach and his wife Agnes, one son-in-law, and the younger daughter of the last owner, sold Biebelried to the bishop of Würzburg,⁵ and at about the same time Sibert von Windheim and his wife Mechthild, the other son-in-law and the elder daughter, probably did the same. Hedwig, the mother of the two daughters, was to keep the revenues of Biebelried for life. The counts of Castell, territorial

rivals of the bishop, who held possessions and rights at Biebelried, were clearly not pleased with this episcopal expansion. Perhaps in order to make his purchase less controversial, Bishop Hermann of Würzburg sold it in 1244 to the Hospitallers who had to pay 260 marks of silver, a comparatively large amount of money that underscores the importance of the place. The Hospitallers promised that if they sold Biebelried, they would offer it first to the bishop, then to the cathedral chapter, and finally to a *ministerialis ecclesie Herbipolensis*.⁶

With their purchase, the Hospitallers got a *caminata, structure et edificia alia*, buildings from stone and wood, together with the usual agricultural appurtenances, *cum omnibus attinentiis, vineis, silvis, pratis, pascuis, viis, inviis, aquis, aquarumque decursibus, piscinis, molendinis et aliis universis*.⁷ Later on, the Hospitallers constructed a new, fairly large and rectangular, almost quadratic castle, about 45 by 43.5 m (Figures 15.1 and 15.2). The outer walls, 1.8 m in diameter, used the prestigious bossed ashlars of the late Stauffer period. There was a ditch but it is unclear whether it was ever filled with water. The entrance was near the south-western corner.⁸ Two buildings stretched along the western and the eastern walls respectively. The western building was 8.8 m broad, the eastern one 6 m. Of the western building, only the northern part is partly extant - once a big hall with eight vaults in two rows. At its north-western corner, there was a small round tower. The eastern building had seven vaults in one row and in the south a chapel with a protruding polygonal choir.⁹ According to a now lost inscription, the castle was begun by the Hospitaller *summus magister* for Alamania Fr. Henry of Boxberg in 1275. In 1601 the inscription was described as being illegible.¹⁰ This was probably due not to bad preservation but to the incompetence of the author of this description, because in 1794 Franz Hugo Brandt, licentiate of rights, could read it: *† Anno incarnationis Domini M^o ducentesimo LXXV^o frater Henricus de Bouesberc mag(ister) nunc preceptor domorum per totam Alimaniam coepit aedificare hoc castrum*.¹¹ In 1978 excavations uncovered a keep in the centre of the building¹² which may be a remnant of the pre-1244 castle. Its walls were 3.1 m thick, and the whole structure was almost quadratic in its ground plan, 11 m long on each side.¹³ A document from 1310 proves that at this time the keep needed repairs.¹⁴

The castle at Biebelried was impressive with its rectangular shape, its bossed walls, and its many arrow-slits (Figures 15.3 and 15.4).¹⁵ But it was not strongly fortified according to the standards of the time. As far as we know, its entrance was just a simple gate. There was an artificial moat, but as the southern part of the structure was much lower than the northern part, the protective function of the moat can be cast into doubt. At any rate, it was unusual that the Hospitallers did not continue to use the pre-1244 castle. More so, the rectangular, almost quadratic ground plan that they chose for their new structure was rare at this time in Germany.¹⁶

Immediately after 1244, the Hospitallers started to buy further possessions in the village: in 1244, 26 bushels (*scheffel*) of rye from the knight Heinrich Muffelger from Scheinfeld for 32 marks of silver;¹⁷ in 1246, an *area* from the knight Konrad von Dettelbach;¹⁸ before 1251, all his estates from Count Frederick of Castell;¹⁹ in 1262, all estates from Udo von Biebelried.²⁰ All this was costly. So Herbord, canon of the collegiate church of Haug at Würzburg, made a donation of 60 marks

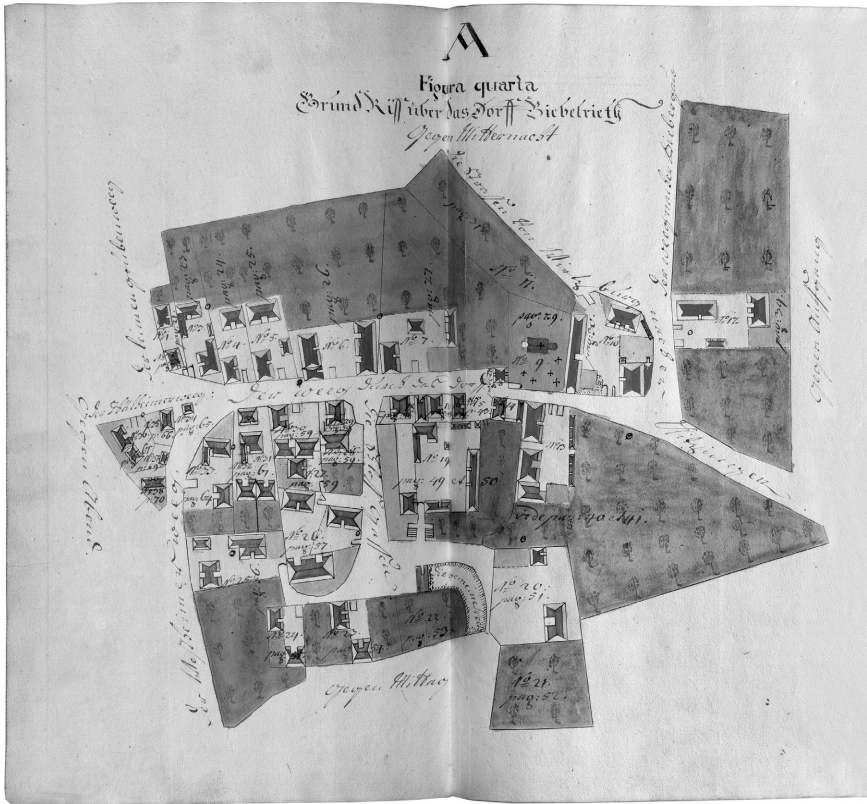


Figure 15.1 Plan of the village of Biebelried from the year 1756/7, with various farms and houses, no. 9 the church, no. 10 the pub, no. 19 the rectangular castle, no. 20 the sheep farm

Source: Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München.

of silver to the Hospital. In return, the Hospitallers promised 30 measures (*malter*) of rye for the annual commemoration of Herbord's soul.²¹ As a result of these purchases, almost the whole village of Biebelried belonged to the Hospitallers. This was unusual in Franconia where most villages included estates from a variety of landowners, nobles, ecclesiastical institutions, citizens, and so on. From Biebelried, only small revenues were not due to the Hospitallers, including for example, the Cistercian abbey of Ebrach,²² the Benedictine nunnery at Kitzingen,²³ and the provost of the cathedral chapter at Würzburg, who also held the peasants' tithes.²⁴ The fields that belonged to the castle were exempt from tithes.²⁵

On its important road, Biebelried had a chapel dedicated to Saint Peter, which belonged to the cathedral chapter at Würzburg.²⁶ In 1251, three of its canons who had been given its revenues passed them on to the Hospitallers. The order was free

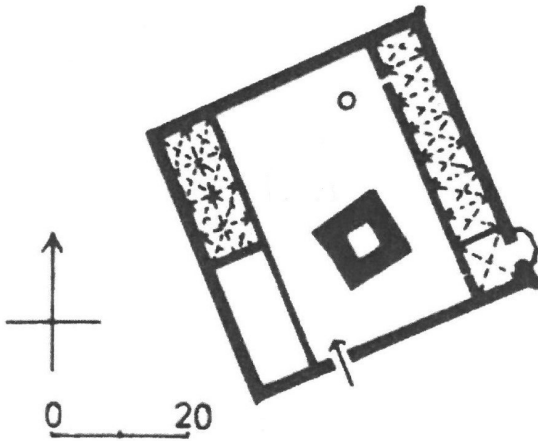


Figure 15.2 Biebelried, schematic ground plan following Krahe. Scale in metres. The keep in the centre is hypothetical.



Figure 15.3 Biebelried, castle, western wall from the thirteenth century, bossed ashlars with arrow slits

Source: Reinhard Hauke, 2014, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported.

to institute priests there.²⁷ In 1329 Fr. Berthold of Henneberg, Prior of Bohemia and Poland, founded revenues for a second Hospitaller priest at Biebelried – 15 pounds of hellers from Rūdenhausen, which he had bought for 150 pounds.²⁸ Hospitaller priests, and later on secular priests who were paid by the Hospitallers,



Figure 15.4 Biebelried, castle, south-eastern corner, walls from the thirteenth century with bossed ashlars and from later periods

Source: Tilman 2007, 2014, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported.

served at Biebelried. The parish church for Biebelried remained in the neighbouring village of Westheim. Only in 1744 was a parish canonically instituted.²⁹

Fr. Henry of Boxberg, the Hospitaller who built the new castle at Biebelried, was an important person. He was preceptor in Central Europe in 1260–1262, 1273, and 1275–1278. His close associates included Fr. Henry of Fürstenberg, preceptor in Central Europe in 1255–1259 and 1263–1272; and Fr. Berengar von Laufen, vice-preceptor in 1258–1263 and 1270–1271, and preceptor in 1273–1274, 1282, and 1286–1289.³⁰ The Fürstenbergs were counts, the Boxbergs nobles,³¹ and the Laufens *ministeriales*. They belonged to a group of magnates in Swabia and Franconia who profited from the demise of the Staufers in the 1250s, and later on they collaborated with King Rudolf (1273–1291). In the 1260s they apparently supported the Hohenlohes based in south-western Franconia against the Hennebergs and Castells based in north-eastern Franconia in a struggle about the control of the bishopric of Würzburg.³²

This can hardly be a surprise because the major Hospitaller possessions were in south-western Franconia, too. Next to Würzburg, (Reichards)Roth, and Rothenburg they included Mergentheim on the river Tauber.³³ Albrecht of Hohenlohe had helped Emperor Frederick Barbarossa to found Reichardsroth between 1182 and 1192 and had donated the parish church at Mergentheim to the Hospital in 1207 or 1208. In 1219/1220, three of his five nephews became *fratres* of the Teutonic order. In this context, the family granted the castle and the village at Mergentheim

to the Teutonic order, the Hospitallers' rival.³⁴ One of Henry's ancestors, Conrad of Boxberg, had made a huge donation to the Hospital as early as 1192 with estates at Boxberg, Althausen, Königshofen, Iphofen, und Schweigern. Conrad planned to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and made his donation at Würzburg in the presence of Emperor Henry VI and many high-ranking imperial princes and nobles.³⁵ A few decades later the estates of this donation formed the nucleus of the Hospitaller house or commandery of Wölchingen.³⁶

Fr. Henry of Boxberg was probably also responsible for the grand Hospitaller church at Wölchingen, roughly 1.5 km below the castle of Boxberg, a monumental building (Figure 15.5), far too big for a simple parish church in the countryside. It was a basilica with a nave and two aisles, three bays, and pillars, a transept, and a choir. The choir had an apse, as did the transept on both sides. Beneath the choir and its apse there was a crypt with a central column. On the wall of the crypt there was a niche as if for a corpse. This may have been in remembrance of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The western façade included the main entrance and lesenes marking the nave and the aisles. Another entrance opened onto the southern aisle. Why the Hospitallers built this big church at Wölchingen is not known. Perhaps it was part of a rather grand building programme pursued by Fr. Henry of Boxberg in Franconia. There are tombs at Wölchingen in the right transept that date from the



Figure 15.5 Wölchingen, church of the thirteenth century

Source: Peter Schmelzle, 2012, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported.

later thirteenth century, unfortunately today without inscriptions. Fr. Henry may have been buried there together with relatives. And the church at Wölchingen may be seen as a counterpart to the castle at Biebelried that also commemorated his noble family.

Henry's relatives, three brothers called Kraft, Gerhard, and Conrad of Boxberg, of whom the first two were also Hospitallers, and the third perhaps intended to become a Hospitaller, donated their family castle and village of Boxberg on 1 January 1287 to the Hospital. Both Henry and the three brothers Kraft, Gerhard, and Conrad of Boxberg were the last male members of their respective family branches. In a sense they made the Hospitallers their heirs. Finally, the order moved its commandery from Wölchingen to Boxberg.³⁷

Some 15 kilometres to the south of Boxberg and Wölchingen, there was Krautheim on the river Jagst. Fr. Henry of Boxberg had two family heirs, his sister Mechthild and his aunt Adelheid. Adelheid had been married to Wolfrad I of Krautheim. The couple had three sons, namely Conrad, Wolfrad II, and Kraft, and one daughter, Richza. Of the three sons, Kraft inherited the castle and took the name Boxberg. Kraft's son Conrad of Boxberg (1271/73, d. 1281) had at least two brothers, Kraft and Gerhard, who were canons of the cathedral at Würzburg. Conrad of Boxberg himself left three sons, Kraft who was a Hospitaller from 1281 to 1297 and a Dominican from 1301 to 1302; then Gerhard, attested from 1281 to 1297, canon of the cathedral at Würzburg in 1287. The youngest son, Conrad Rupert (named after his maternal grandfather Rupert of Dürn), inherited the estates with Boxberg. He is attested from 1281 onwards and died sometime between 1317 and 1325, when his widow remarried. With Conrad Rupert the Krautheim-Boxberg family finally became extinct.³⁸ In 1239 Conrad of Krautheim sold the castle and his possessions in the village of Krautheim together with the castle and his possessions in Boxberg and further places to Gottfried of Hohenlohe, who was married to his sister Richza. Beatrix, daughter of Conrad's brother Wolfrad II, was married to Count Otto I of Eberstein who died in 1279. In 1268 Otto donated the parish Church of (Alt)Krautheim to the Hospitallers. By 1280 the Hospitallers had a house and a commander at Krautheim.³⁹ The following genealogical chart may be helpful:

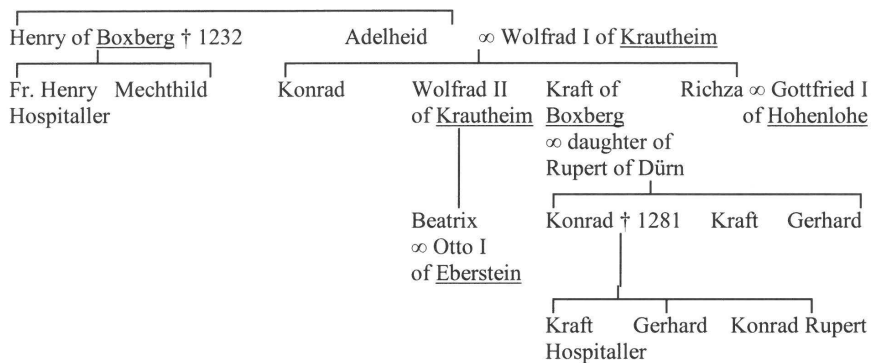


Figure 15.6 The Houses of Boxberg and Krautheim

It is not known whether Fr. Henry of Boxberg was ever in the Levant. It is known, however, that Fr. Henry of Fürstenberg was *magnus preceptor* of the Hospitaller convent at Acre from 1259 to 1262, one of the rare German Hospitallers to have held such a high post in the thirteenth-century Levant.⁴⁰ Fr. Henry of Fürstenberg may have been a son of Count Henry I of Fürstenberg (d. 1284), who founded the Hospitaller commandery at Villingen in 1253.⁴¹ The connection between Fr. Henry of Boxberg and Fr. Henry of Fürstenberg does not prove that the new castle at Biebelried was inspired by Mediterranean examples, but the possibility cannot be excluded either.

During the fourteenth century, Biebelried sometimes served as residence of a Hospitaller commander. In 1317 this office was held by Fr. Henry of Castell, a younger son of Count Henry I of Castell (d. 1307). In 1312 and in 1319 Fr. Henry was the Hospitaller commander of (Klein)Erdlingen near Nördlingen, in 1326 he was merely a brother Hospitaller at Biebelried.⁴² Apparently, the family feuds of the thirteenth century were now history.

By the 1380s the Hospitallers had run up debts. In 1381, they sold Boxberg to the Rosenberg family.⁴³ Furthermore, they owed 1,000 florins to Eberhard von Fechenbach, Dietrich von Erthal, and Wilhelm von Thüngen, three members of the petty nobility. In 1385 the Hospitallers were given the money to pay these debts from the squire Berthold von Heidingsfeld and his step-daughter Anna. In return they handed over Biebelried to Berthold and Anna who were to hold it for their lifetime. Both Berthold and Anna promised to serve the bishop of Würzburg as knights serve their lord. Berthold and Anna agreed to pay everything the Hospitallers had to pay from revenues at Biebelried, especially two eternal rents to the vicar of Saint Ulrich in Würzburg (20 measures of rye) and to the abbess of Kitzingen (2 measures of wheat), plus a life-rent to Nikolaus von Ummerstadt (52 measures of rye and 52 pounds of Würzburg pennies). Berthold and Anna were entitled to repurchase everything the Hospitallers had earlier pawned away from Biebelried. They were permitted to use the forests for their own needs. When Anna died, everything was to be returned to the Hospitallers except horses, cattle, and movables. Were Berthold to die before Anna, Berthold's wife Katharina would take his place. Finally, Berthold and Anna agreed to keep Biebelried in good shape, to pay for damages which might be caused by warfare and to maintain at their own costs a Hospitaller priest at Biebelried. Bishop Gerhard of Würzburg agreed to these arrangements. Fr. Konrad von Braunsberg, Prior of Alania, had licenced them for the Hospital. His lieutenant in Franconia, Fr. Konrad von Bibra, Commander of Weißensee, three other commanders, Fr. Konrad Wolfsdorfer at Biebelried, Fr. Arnold von Berlichingen at (Schwäbisch) Hall, and Fr. Johann Laudener at Mergentheim, together with their convents and Fr. Johann Mercklin from Rottweil, were named as the brethren who concluded the treaty.⁴⁴

In 1418 the Hospitallers were able to repurchase Biebelried from Bishop John of Würzburg. Six years earlier, in 1412, John had himself bought Biebelried for 3,000 florins from Anna von Thüngen, wife of Heinz Rüd't von Collenberg.⁴⁵ Anna had held the right to keep Biebelried for her life. But she had sold this claim to Bishop John. As John was notoriously short of cash, he accepted an offer from

the Hospitaller bailiff of Franconia and convent and handed over Biebelried to the order again. The price is not mentioned in the extant documents. Yet the Hospitalers had to agree to a similar clause as in 1244. If they were to sell Biebelried, they would offer it to the bishopric of Würzburg, and the bishop would have the right to sell it to whomsoever he thought best.⁴⁶

During the fifteenth century, Biebelried and its castle were granted to single Hospitalers, Fr. Weiprecht Egen, Fr. Richard von Buttlar, and Fr. Philipp von Reiffenberg. Accounts from the year 1452 mentioned expenditures for a long *transitus* (probably a covered walk) on the wall. Fr. Richard von Buttlar claimed expenses for Biebelried, among them 150 florins of the Rhine for debts of the late Fr. Weiprecht Egen *sutoribus, sartoribus, curficibus et aliis mechanicis sibi in vita famulantibus, item dicit se solvisse pro uno novo longo transitu super muro domus Bybelriet et ipsius structura* 86 florins, then 20 florins *pro reformatione ecclesie in Byberiet tam in tectura quam in parietibus necnon ad reconciliandum*, 20 florins *pro structura domus in curia pro familie et pecorum habitacione*, 2 florins *pro domo gallinarum erga orreum*, 200 florins *ad construendum novum orreum*, 80 florins *ad renovandum sex iugera vinearum, que omnino inculte fuerunt et deserta penitus*.⁴⁷

Later on, Hospitaller brethren ceased to live in Biebelried. Instead, the commander of nearby Würzburg appointed a lay reeve who lived in the castle.⁴⁸ The Peasant's Revolt in 1525⁴⁹ and the Thirty Years War from 1618 to 1648 caused damages and necessitated repairs. Early modern documents described the castle, but unfortunately some were destroyed in April 1945, together with other documents of the Staatsarchiv Würzburg, which had been taken to the castle of Wässerndorf where they were safe against air raids but not against ground warfare.⁵⁰ In 1601, the castle and the village were described in detail:⁵¹

Erstlich das schloß mit zweyen stuben und kammern, item darinen ein wohnung [sic!], so sich ein jeder diener oder schaffner aufenthalten thuert, item ein korn-scheuren, item zwen pferdt- und 2 khüer-stell mit dern herd-böden, alles in einer vesten rinckmauren, dann umb das schloß ein graben, so 1.5 morgen veldts, darinen etliche obs-bäum [sic!] und ein kraut-gärtlin, item außer dem schloß ein gemaurts schaaf-hauß und schaaf-scheuren umbgemauert und dem schloß zuegehörig, . . . vorm schloß ein grasgarten, so der Binßengarten genant, 2 acres large, next to it one meadow, 24 acres large, then one pond or pit for fish, 1 acre large, oben daran ein kraut- oder rüeb-acker, 7 acres large, and finally an dreyen seen oder eingeworffenen weyern wißwachß, 24 acres large, all this belonging to the castle.

Furthermore, there was a church with a tower and a cemetery, which had a stone wall. There were houses for the parson, the sexton or verger and for the pub, which also had a stone wall. Sixty acres of fields were set aside for these three persons. The village held eight farms (*höfe*) with 14 farmers plus an unspecified number of peasants in small houses (*selden*) with barns and orchards. The villagers worked 2,400 measures (*morgen*) of fields and 96 measures of meadows. The

eight farmers and the landlord who ran the pub received firewood from one big and one small forest which held 190 measures together.⁵²

In 1661, a Hospitaller *melioramento* described the state of the whole commandery of Würzburg, including Biebelried. Three years earlier, in 1658, the castle at Biebelried had been repaired so that it was habitable again. At the same time, two buildings, a house, and a barn for 400 sheep had been repaired. Two hundred and ninety-four acres (*morgen*) of cultivated fields, 30 acres of uncultivated fields, and 50 acres of gardens belonged to the castle. The village had had eight peasants in 1418, and later it had 16 peasants. Their dues were 163.5 measures of corn, here meaning rye, 73 measures of wheat, 74 measures of oats, 7 florins and 28 pounds of money, 7.5 stacks of straw, 22.5 carnival chickens and 2 capons. The peasants cultivated 2,400 acres of fields and 36 acres of meadows.⁵³ The order maintained a small law court at Biebelried with two judges (*scultheti*) and 14 échevins (*scabini*).⁵⁴

In the eighteenth century, the village still had eight farms but 28 houses (*areae*) with 30 peasants and 38 hearths.⁵⁵ The Hospitallers renewed their administrative buildings. A good house was built for their reeve on the left side of the entrance to the castle in 1712, and in 1754 this house was enlarged. It had a cellar, and on the ground floor it had a living room, a bedroom and a kitchen. On the upper floor it had two rooms, a small and a large one. The larger room in the upper floor was used when the commander from Würzburg wanted to stay overnight. In 1728, the keep of the castle was demolished. Maps showed the village and the castle in 1756/7 and in 1794. On the right side of the entrance to the castle there was a one-storey building for the peasant in charge of the estate. On the eastern side there were stables for horses and cattle and, in the north-eastern corner, something called “der Gehorsam,” perhaps some kind of prison. Along the northern side there were pens for pigs. On the north-western corner there were barns and something called “the hall.” The ditch did not hold any water; on the eastern and southern side it was used as an orchard, and on the western side it was used as a garden for the kitchen. In the northern part of the courtyard a draw well provided water. Outside the northern side of the wall several small houses with little gardens separated the castle from the street. One of these houses was bought by the Hospitallers in 1754 when its inhabitant had run into debts. There was a large compound for sheep to the south-east of the castle.⁵⁶ In 1792, the Hospitallers stopped cultivating the fields of the castle at Biebelried with their own labourers. Instead, the fields were measured by the land surveyor Johann Georg Hay, who produced fine maps, and they were rented for 12 years to peasants from Biebelried.⁵⁷ After the secularisation of Hospitaller properties in the short-lived Grand-Duchy of Würzburg between 1806 and 1814, the castle was sold to local peasants. It is still today in use as a farm with a modern living house, stables, and barns.⁵⁸

Biebelried, with its rectangular, almost quadratic layout of about 2,000 m² remains a rare, nearly unique structure in thirteenth-century Germany. Its possible inspiration deserves further study; it should be compared to similar castles in other parts of Europe, the Mediterranean, and perhaps the Levant. Similar castles in Central Europe were recorded by Friedrich-Wilhelm Krahe.⁵⁹ He mentions one

other rectangular, almost quadratic Hospitaller castle at Lagow, today Łagów in Poland, east of the Oder river. But Lagow was only built by the Hospitallers after the middle of the fourteenth century, without a keep and without round towers, only with one square tower in one of the corners. At any rate, it is too late to warrant discussion in connection with Biebelried.⁶⁰

More relevant are rectangular castles along the Upper Rhine Valley, especially Babenhausen near Darmstadt from the 1180s⁶¹ and Lahr near Offenburg from the 1210s.⁶² These two structures already existed when Biebelried was begun, and no military-religious orders were involved in their construction. Both castles had a keep that was built together with the other parts of the structure. The families who commissioned Babenhausen and Lahr were important imperial *nobiles* and *ministeriales* with close connections both to the Hohenstaufen court, to Sicily, and to the Crusades. The same was true for Dautenstein (near Lahr), built in the 1230s, and Neuleiningen (near Worms), built about 1240.⁶³ Lahr, Dautenstein, and Neuleiningen had four round towers in the corners. The latter two had no keep, and Neuleiningen was not quadratic, not even rectangular. So Biebelried had clearly no connections with this almost contemporary, only slightly older group of rectangular castles in Germany.

One may also note that the Teutonic order built a large number of rectangular, almost quadratic brick castles in Prussia and Livonia during the second half of the thirteenth century. This was the time when earlier structures from earth and wood were turned into more permanent buildings, and the earlier structures may just have followed Vegetius who recommended a rectangular plan for Roman forts in newly conquered territories.⁶⁴ In Germany proper, neither the Teutonic order nor the Hospitallers ever adopted such ground plans.⁶⁵ Biebelried remained an exception to be explained probably by Hospitaller connections. So we should be careful not to overestimate the role of the military-religious orders in spreading new and rare types of fortifications from the Levant to the West and from the Mediterranean to the North.

Notes

- 1 Alfred Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg. Die Bischofsreihe bis 1254*, Germania sacra, Neue Folge 1 (Berlin, 1962), 211–26; Idem, *Das Bistum Würzburg. Die Bischofsreihe von 1254 bis 1455*, Germania sacra, Neue Folge 4 (Berlin, 1969), 3–28.
- 2 Dagmar Weltin, *Studien zur Geschichte der Johanniterkommende Mailberg* (Wien, 2007).
- 3 In 1189, Count Rupert of Castell owned 14 *mansus* at Biebelried, which he had given in fief to Wolfram von Zabelstein. This was exchanged against 11 *mansus* at Sulzhart near Prosselsheim: *Monumenta Boica*, ed. Academia scientiarum boica 37 (1864), 137–38 no. 145; *Monumenta Castellana. Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des fränkischen Dynastengeschlechtes der Grafen und Herren zu Castell 1057–1546*, ed. Pius Wittmann (Munich, 1890), 18 no. 61. The first witness from the *ministeriales* was Engelhard von Biebelried, the third Sibert von Windheim. On the Biebelried family see Johanna Reimann, “Zur Besitz- und Familiengeschichte der Ministerialen des Hochstifts Würzburg,” *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Kunst* 15 (1963): 1–117, here 4–6, 17, 25–26; Idem, “Die Ministerialen des Hochstifts Würzburg in sozial-, rechts- und verfassungsgeschichtlicher Sicht,” Idem 16 (1964): 1–266, here 63 n. 39, 128, 173, 196, 219.

- 4 Burkhard 1137, Engelhard 1164 and 1194, his sons Herold 1195 and Konrad, but not Udo, Berno and his brother Otto: *1100 Jahre Biebelried*, eds. Franz Altmann and Roland Kraus in collaboration with Alois Hanke, Thomas Häusner and Georg Leicht (Kitzingen, 1992), 14–15.
- 5 *Monumenta Boica* 37 (1864), 286–88 no. 260. The price was 300 pounds of hellers, but it included not only half of Biebelried, but also the village Brodswinden and the *advocatie* of the six villages Ratzenwinden, Waizendorf, Rammersdorf, Windischschnaitbach and Claffheim.
- 6 1244 April without day, three originals issued by Bishop Hermann of Würzburg, ed. *Monumenta Boica* 37 (1864), 313–14 no. 280; one original issued by Fr. Konrad von Büchold, *provisor* of the Hospitaller *domus* at Würzburg, Idem, ed. *Monumenta Boica* 37 (1864), 314–15 no. 281. Sibert von Windheim (Frankenwinheim, some 20 km south of Schweinfurt) was a vassal of Count Henry I of Castell, 1276 December 15: *Monumenta Castellana*, 68 no. 190.
- 7 “with all appurtenances, vineyards, forests, meadows, pastures, roads, waters, watercourses, ponds, mills and all other things,” *Monumenta Boica* 37 (1864), 313–14 no. 280.
- 8 Purely by speculation, a square tower of about 6 m was supposed: Alexander Antonow, “Die Johanniterburg Biebelried bei Würzburg,” in *Burgen und Schlösser* 17 (1976): 10–20, here 10.
- 9 Photo from outside: *1100 Jahre Biebelried*, 24. 1929 photo of the eastern wall with the bay of the chapel: Idem, 80.
- 10 Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Würzburger Archivalien 1263 (old Würzburger Urkunden 107/388): *Die jahrzal seider [sic!] auferbawung des schloß, so oben dem thore, ist mir nicht bekhandt. Weiß auch niemandt, der sie wisse zuerkennen. Allein das daran steth: Frater Heinrich da Boccenperg* [corrected later to *Boxperg*]. “The date when the castle was built is to be seen at the upper part of the gate, but I do not know it and do not know anyone who can read it. Yet one can read: Frater Henry of Boxberg.”
- 11 “In the year of the incarnation 1275, Fr. Henry of Boxberg, master and now preceptor of all houses in Germany, began to build this castle.” Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Standbuch 251, fol. Vv, and addition on the right margin.
- 12 Ludwig Wamser, “Ausgrabungen im Johanniterkastell Biebelried,” in *Jahrbuch Landkreis Kitzingen* 1979, 107–08. There are two drawings that show the reconstructed castle by Antonow, one of 1974 without and one of 1979 with the newly discovered keep: *1100 Jahre Biebelried*, 22.
- 13 Photo of the excavations *1100 Jahre Biebelried*, 27.
- 14 Antonow, “Johanniterburg,” 10.
- 15 Photos from the east and the west: *1100 Jahre Biebelried*, 23, from inside the eastern part: Idem, 24, 25, 26.
- 16 Antonow, “Johanniterburg,” 10–20, with plans and photos; Josef Hoh, “Das ehemalige Johanniterkastell in Biebelried,” in *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch* 4 (1954): 319–26; Walter Gerd Rödel, *Das Großpriorat Deutschland des Johanniter-Ordens im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Cologne, 1972), 175–76, 449.
- 17 1244 December without day: ed. *Monumenta Boica* 37 (1864), 319–21 no. 284.
- 18 1246 October 2: Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Johanniterorden Kommende Würzburg Urkunden 24. The Hospitallers had to pay 2 measures of wheat annually from that *area* to the monastery at Kitzingen.
- 19 1251 March without day, ed. *Monumenta Boica* 37 (1864), 352–53 no. 315; *Monumenta Castellana*, 42–43 no. 137. These estates had been fiefs of the bishop of Würzburg, and in compensation, Count Frederick gave estates at Schernau and Euerfeld as a fief to the bishop.
- 20 1262 January 8: ed. *Monumenta Castellana*, 52 no. 156. These estates had been fiefs of the counts of Castell Henry I and Hermann, to whom Udo offered other estates in compensation.
- 21 Agreed by Fr. Henry of Fürstenberg, Master for Germany, Bohemia, Poland and Moravia, 1256 August: Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Johanniterorden Kommende Würzburg

- Urkunden 35. Herbord had a sister called Adelheid and had been dean of Haug in 1243 and 1247 but resigned that office before 1253 when he donated a house in Würzburg to the Hospitallers: Enno Bünz, *Stift Haug in Würzburg. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte eines fränkischen Kollegiatstifts im Mittelalter*. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 128, Studien zur Germania Sacra 20 (Göttingen, 1998), 580–81. In fact, Herbord may have become a Hospitaller. Unfortunately, nothing is known so far about his family.
- 22 Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Standbuch 387, Amt Mainstockheim, 1514 to about 1550; *Fränkische Urbare. Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen urbariellen Quellen im Bereich des Hochstifts Würzburg*, eds. Enno Bünz, Dieter Rödel, Peter Rückert, and Ekhard Schöfler, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte X/13 (Neustadt an der Aisch, 1998), 88 EBRA-10.
- 23 Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Standbuch 551, from about 1440 to apparently 1507; *Fränkische Urbare*, 103 KTKL-2.
- 24 Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Stadtrechtsamt 708 and Standbuch 26, both from the 16th century; *Fränkische Urbare*, 148–49 WÜDK-31 and WÜDK-34. 1262 June 28: Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Johanniterorden Kommende Würzburg Urkunden 44; *Monumenta Boica* 37 (1864), 405–6 no. 354.
- 25 Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Würzburger Archivalien 1263 (from 1601), Standbuch 321 (from 1661).
- 26 Josef Hoh, “Der Streit zwischen den Johannitern und dem Bischof von Würzburg um das pfarrliche Recht in Biebelried vor der kanonischen Errichtung der Pfarrei 1744,” in *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 4 (1936): 25–47, here 26 note 10.
- 27 1251 without day: Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Johanniterorden Kommende Würzburg Urkunden 29; ed. *Monumenta Boica* 37 (1864), 354–55 no. 317.
- 28 1329 August 29: Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Johanniterorden Kommende Würzburg Urkunden 199. Berthold’s nephew, Fr. Berthold of Henneberg the Younger, was commander of Würzburg, Boxberg and Biebelried at this time. One year later Fr. Berthold of Henneberg the Elder was commander of Boxberg, Berthold the Younger still commander at Würzburg and Biebelried: 1330 July 10: Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Johanniterorden Kommende Würzburg Urkunden 202.
- 29 Hoh, “Streit,” 40–47.
- 30 Walter Gerd Rödel, “Die deutschen (Groß)Prioren,” in *Die Johanniter und Templer, der Deutsche Orden, die Lazariter und Lazariterinnen, die Pauliner und die Serviten in der Schweiz*, eds. Petra Zimmer and Patrick Braun, *Helvetia Sacra* 4/7/1 (Basel, 2006), 51–76, here 51–53. These preceptors were usually in charge not only of Germany, but also of Bohemia, Austria, Moravia, Poland and sometimes Hungary.
- 31 Detlev Schwennicke, ed., *Europäische Stammtafeln. Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*, Bd. 16 (Marburg, 1995), no. 154 B.
- 32 Klaus Arnold, “Die Kitzinger Cyriakusschlacht von 1266,” *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch* 69 (2017): 161–91; Wilhelm Fülleln, *Zwei Jahrzehnte würzburgischer Stifts-, Stadt- und Landesgeschichte 1254–1275*, Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Altertums 20 (Meiningen, 1926).
- 33 Rödel, *Großpriorat*, 154–57, 448 (Rothenburg), 157–58, 448 (Reichardsroth), 158–63, 448 (Mergentheim), 172–75, 448–49 (Würzburg).
- 34 Hermann Bauer, “Die Johanniter-Commende zu Mergentheim,” *Zeitschrift für Württembergisch Franken* 8/2 (1869): 268–87; Bernhard Klebes, *Der Deutsche Orden in der Region Mergentheim im Mittelalter: Kommende, Stadt- und Territorialherrschaft*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 58 (Marburg, 2002), 16–34.
- 35 Würzburg 1192 June 6: Johann Friedrich Böhmer, ed., *Regesta Imperii*, 4/3/1, Heinrich VI. 1165 (1190)–1197, red. Gerhard Baaken (Cologne and Vienna, 1972), 92 no. 221a. Schwennicke, *Stammtafeln* 16 no. 154 B under Bocksberg has four persons named Conrad, Henry’s uncle, 1194 canon of the cathedral at Würzburg, Henry’s grandfather 1157/82, married to Adelheid of Lauda, Henry’s great-grandfather 1137/44, married to Jutta, sister of Frederick of Bielriet and buried at Wölchingen,

- and finally Conrad who died on the crusade before 1190, a son of Kraft, who was a younger son of Conrad and Jutta.
- 36 The Hospitallers had a *curia* at Wölchingen in 1239, a *domus* under a *provisor*, Fr. Konrad von Büchold, and with a *sacerdos*, Fr. Konrad, in 1249, a *domus* under a *commendator*, Fr. C., in 1274: Albert Krieger, *Topographisches Wörterbuch des Großherzogtums Baden*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1905), 2:1494.
 - 37 Krieger, *Wörterbuch*, 1:258.
 - 38 Schwennicke, *Stammtafeln* 16 no. 154 B Bocksberg, no. 155 Krautheim.
 - 39 1239 and 1268: Krieger, *Wörterbuch*, 1:1257, here with Otto being called *nobilis*, not *comes*; Alfred Wendehorst and Othmar Hageneder, "Eine Dekretale Papst Innocenz' III. die Pfarrei Altkrautheim betreffend (Prag, Universitätsbibliothek MS XXIII.E.50 fol. 40v-42r)," in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte. Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen dargebracht*, eds. Karl Borchardt and Enno Bünz, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1998), 1:303–11, here 305–6.
 - 40 Jochen Burgdorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)*, History of Warfare 50 (Leiden, 2008), 559–61.
 - 41 Sigmund Riezler, ed., *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1 (Tübingen, 1877), 402 a son of Henry I, known from 1266 to allegedly 1279. Not in Schwennicke, *Stammtafeln* 5 (1988) no. 10.
 - 42 1312 June 24: *Monumenta Castellana*, 112 no. 270. – Without any office when selling estates with the consent of his elder brothers Rupert and Hermann of Castell, 1314 September 29: Idem, 114–15 no. 274. – 1317 August 9: Idem, 120–21 no. 280. – 1319 June 4: Idem, 122–23 no. 284. – 1326 February 21: Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Johanniterorden Kommende Würzburg Urkunden 185; ed. *Monumenta Castellana*, 134–35 no. 306, mentioning Henry and his *co-uterinus* (not *conterinus*) Hermann. – 1345 January 24: *Monumenta Castellana*, 126–27 no. 350. – 1347 February 19: *Monumenta Boica* 41 (1872), 269–73 no. 99; *Monumenta Castellana*, 157 no. 352; Lorenz Fries, *Chronik der Bischöfe von Würzburg 742–1495*, eds. Ulrich Wagner and Walter Ziegler, vol. 2 (Würzburg, 1994), 338–39. This document mentions Count Henry of Castell, but as a layman, not as a Hospitaller. – See Schwennicke, *Stammtafeln* 16 no. 123.
 - 43 1381 May 25: Krieger, *Wörterbuch*, 1:257. Sold by the Bailiff of Franconia and six commanders, among them Fr. Konrad Wolfsdorfer of Biebelried and Fr. Johann Mercklin of Würzburg to four members of the Rosenberg family, Konrad, knight, and his brother Konrad, squire, Eberhard, knight, and his brother Arnold, squire.
 - 44 1385 January 10: original Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Johanniterorden Kommende Würzburg Urkunden 287; *Regesta Boica*, eds. Karl Heinrich von Lang and Maximilian Freiherr von Freyberg 10 (1843), 147. – 1385 August 11: original Idem (old 3437); *Monumenta Boica* 46 (1905), 410–1 no. 186.
 - 45 1412 May 8: Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Johanniterorden Kommende Würzburg Urkunden 316 (old Würzburger Urkunden 107/265). Within four years the bishop was to pay 1100 florins for the commandery and its farmyard plus 1900 florins for seeds, cattle and mobiles. If he failed to do so, he was pay 1 florin for every 15 florins as interest (= 200 florins).
 - 46 „Sunderlichen ist auch beret worden, abe die obgenanten baleyer und connvent zu sant Johannis [on the margin vorkauf] benötigt wurden, das sie und ir orden das offgenante sloß Bibelreit mit seinen czugehorungen verkeuffen oder sust verseczen wolten oder musten, so sullen sie uns, unsern nachkomen und stiftt solichen kauff oder seczunge czum ersten anbieten und uns des vor allermeniglichen gestaten imd gunen, das wir dann also verkauffen oder verpfende mogen, ob iwr wollen, ongeverde." 1418 March 18: original Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Würzburger Urkunden 90/265; copy Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Liber diversarum formarum 5, fol. 138r (old 76r).
 - 47 "for the shoemakers, the dressmakers, the wagon-makers and other craftsmen who had served him during his lifetime; furthermore, he said he had paid for a new walk-path on top of the walls of the house of Biebelried and its buildings 86 florins, then 20

- florins for repairs of the church in Biebelried both concerning the roofs and the walls and for its new consecration, 20 florins for building the house of the manor where the servants and the sheep live, 2 florins for the house of the chicken near the barn, 200 florins for building a new barn, 80 florins for replanting six yokes of vineyards which had been out of cultivation and lay waste completely”: 1452 September 8: Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Johanniterorden Kommende Würzburg Urkunden 338 (old Würzburger Urkunden 107/283).
- 48 Konrad Blum in 1507, Johann Wortweiner 1513–1520, Kilian Walther 1543–1549: *1100 Jahre Biebelried*, 17.
 - 49 Punishments for the Biebelried peasants in 1526: *1100 Jahre Biebelried*, 37.
 - 50 Magnus Ressel, “Die Zerstörung der Capitularien des Fondaco dei Tedeschi im Schloss Wässerndorf am Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges,” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 93 (2013): 377–400. Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Standbuch 251 is a repertory on the Hospitaller archives at Würzburg from 1794. It mentions melioramenti from 1532, 1710 and 1742 (pag. 47), Hochgericht Biebelried 1752 (pag. 81), Chausseebau Biebelried (pag. 105), Verleihung des Hofguts Biebelried mit den Gebäuden (pag. 633).
 - 51 The German text enumerates a number of appurtenances and can be rendered into English tentatively as follows: “Firstly the castle with two rooms or chambers where the servant or steward lives, a barn for corn, two stables for horses and for cows with their lofts, all of this surrounded by the wall, then a ditch around the castle, 1.5 acres with fruit trees and a garden for herbs, then outside the castle a house made of stones for the sheep and a barn for the sheep, which belong to the castle, . . . a grass garden which is called the garden of the rushes, . . . one pond or pit for fish, 1 acre large, bordering on fields for beets or turnips, . . . finally three former lakes or ponds which are now meadows.”
 - 52 Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Würzburger Archivalien 1263 (old Würzburger Urkunden 107/388).
 - 53 Melioramento of the Commander Fr. Johann Joseph von Beroldingen, 1661 February 23 and 24: Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Standbuch 321, fol. 37r–40r. Following the successful melioramento, Fr. Johann Joseph was granted the commandery of (Klein) Erdlingen in 1662: *1100 Jahre Biebelried*, 18.
 - 54 Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Standbuch 266, for the years 1556 to 1592. See also Idem, Standbuch 267, from 1613, Idem, Standbuch 268, from 1630/56–1668, and Idem, Standbuch 269, from 1758.
 - 55 Heinrich Weber, *Kitzingen*. Historischer Atlas von Bayern, Teil Franken 16 (Munich, 1967), 159–60.
 - 56 Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Malteserorden, Regierungsarchiv Heitersheim, Amtsbücher und Akten 468 (formerly Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Standbuch 254) from 1756/7, pag. 47–50 no. 19 the castle, pag. 51 no. 50 stables for the sheep; 521 (formerly Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Standbuch 255) from 1794, pag. 45 no. 19 the castle, pag. 46 no. 20 stables for the sheep. The 1756/7 plan is published *Über Land und Meer: Vom Orden der Johanniter und Malteser in Bayern. Eine Ausstellung des Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchivs*, 2. Oktober–27. November 2018, eds. Gerhard Hetzer and Gerhard Immler, Kleine Ausstellungen 57 (Munich, 2018), 55–56 Kat.-Nr. 10.
 - 57 Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Rentamt Kitzingen 75. On 3 June 1791 the provincial chapter of Alamania had agreed that the fields should be rented to Hospitaller peasants.
 - 58 *1100 Jahre Biebelried*, 18–19.
 - 59 Friedrich-Wilhelm Krahe, *Burgen des Deutschen Mittelalters. Grundriss-Lexikon* (Augsburg, 1996), 89 (Babenhausen), 144 (Dautenstein), 350 (Lagow), 351 (Lahr), 430–31 (Neuleiningen).
 - 60 Maciej Przybyl, “Hus Lagow. Z dziejów komandorii Joannitów w Lagowie,” in *Cognitioni Gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi*, eds. Dariusz Adem Sikorski and Andrzej Marek (Poznań, 2006), 395–404.

- 61 Thomas Becker, "Von der Wasserburg zum Hotel – Einblicke in den Außenbereich des Schlosses: Baubegleitende Maßnahmen am Schloss Babenhausen, Lkr. Darmstadt-Dieburg," *Hessen-Archäologie* (2016): 184–86; Bettina Jost, "Burg Babenhausen – eine regelmäßige Wasserburg der 1180er Jahre," in *Burg und Kirche zur Stauferzeit. Alten der 1. Landauer Staufertagung 1997*, eds. Volker Herzner and Jürgen Krüger (Regensburg, 2001), 128–43.
- 62 Karl List and Philipp Brucker, *Wasserburg Lahr. Eine Burg aus der Stauferzeit* (Lahr, 1977).
- 63 Stefan Ulrich, *Die Burg Neuleiningen. Ihre Baugeschichte unter Berücksichtigung der Stadtbefestigung* (Neustadt an der Weinstraße, 2005).
- 64 Christopher Thomas Allmand, *The De re militari of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2011).
- 65 Christopher Herrmann, *Burgen im Ordensland Preußen. Handbuch zu den Deutschordens- und Bischofsburgen in Ost- und Westpreußen* (Petersberg, 2015); Tomasz Torbus, "The Architecture of the Castles in the Prussian State of the Teutonic Order," in *Archaeology and Architecture of the Military Orders: New Studies*, eds. Mathias Piana and Christer Carlsson (Farnham, 2014), 219–50; Idem, *Die Konventsburgen im Deutschordensland Preußen*. Schriften des Bundesinstituts für ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte 11 (Munich, 1998); Bruno Schumacher, *Die Burgen in Preußen und Livland* (Würzburg, 1962).

16 Echoes of the Latin East among the Hospitallers of the West

The priory of Saint Gilles,
c.1260–c.1300¹

Damien Carraz

When joining the Hospital, the commitments undertaken by candidates are well known: renouncing comforts for the austerity of regular life and giving up stability in order to travel wherever the order needed them.² Yet this rhetoric also had its share of stereotypes. In reality, a large number of brothers would never see the East, although the precise proportion is impossible to calculate. Instead of wandering the world, many would spend the better part of their time as Hospitallers in the West, where their horizons would be limited to a few commanderies in the same region.

Were there in these Western commanderies, which were the supply regions for the front in the Latin East, any echoes of the Holy Land in everyday life? The subject has been addressed in relation to the Templars, as the trial proceedings shed considerable light on the brothers' lives in the four decades preceding the suppression of the Temple. Thanks to that exceptional source, we can follow the brothers' passages overseas and even discover what the Templars of the West knew about the East – whether their information was accurate or mythical.³ Unfortunately for the historian, no trial was brought against the Hospitallers and therefore the evidence is much more sporadic.

Judith Bronstein has provided a general overview of the Western commanderies' support of the order's military mission in the East during the Crusades.⁴ This essential study shows how the main priories adapted their economic strategy to the situation of the Latin states. But her work adopts a broad scale – it presents a panorama of the great structural changes related to the chronology of the Latin East. In the present chapter, instead I would like to go down to the “ground level,” as Jacques Revel would say, to see what the order's mission involved at the scale of an ordinary commandery.⁵ I will deal mainly with Manosque, in Haute-Provence, because it is a particularly well-documented commandery that I am currently working on. Moreover, its sources illuminate the years 1260–1300 particularly well, and this is good for two reasons: first, because Bronstein's analysis ends with 1274, and second because as everyone knows, these were crucial decades for the future of the Latin states.⁶ More broadly, my chapter focuses on the Provençal part of the priory of Saint Gilles as it was one of the main crossroads between the two shores of the Mediterranean.

Defending the Holy Land through discourse

The Hospitallers had established themselves in Provence during the First Crusade. Thus, in the minds of their protectors and donors, the first houses founded were directly associated with the hospital in Jerusalem.⁷ While the link between the Hospitaller order and the Holy City was inscribed in the very name of the institution (*Hospitalis Iherosolimitani*), direct references to its Eastern roots tended to diminish over time. Nevertheless, throughout the thirteenth century, we still find donations to “the poor of St John’s hospital in Jerusalem overseas,”⁸ while burial requests invariably praised the Hospital’s benefits “*citra mare et ultra*.”⁹ For example, in October 1307 when the Temple was in full turmoil, the Count of Provence, Charles II of Anjou, made multiple donations and extolled the benefits that the sacred Order of the Hospital, a “rampart of the faith,” had lavished on the Church of God.¹⁰ His speech on the Hospital’s commitment to defending the Holy Land was directed to the faithful. It was disseminated by notaries and was expected to reach the clergy. For this purpose, the military orders used the platform offered by the great ecclesiastical assemblies.

The importance of the Second General Council of Lyon for Crusade strategy and the role assigned to the orders of the Hospital and the Temple are well known.¹¹ However, I would like to look closer at a document found in the grand priory of Saint Gilles’ archives (Figure 16.1).

This text still raises problems of interpretation, although it has been known for some time. It is a *consilium* written for delegates from the Temple and the Hospital who were sent to plead the orders’ cause to the council.¹² Despite its rather informal writing style, this modest piece of parchment presents its arguments in a very structured way, and demonstrates perfect knowledge of the context. Although the Templars and Hospitallers clearly intended to speak with one voice, this *consilium* was addressed to the Council Fathers only in the name of one of the two orders: internal analysis and the vocabulary show that the document speaks for the Hospital and not for the Temple.¹³

Thus, I agree with Alan Forey on this point; however, I do not believe that this memorandum was written in the East but in Provence. Without going into too much detail, I will simply mention three elements in support of this: 1) the attested presence in Lyon of at least one Provençal brother, the prior of Saint Gilles, Guillaume de Villaret, who had Pope Gregory X’s full confidence;¹⁴ 2) the fact that several bulls and charters concerning Provençal commanderies, and in particular Manosque, referred to the statutes of the council in the months that followed;¹⁵ and finally; 3) the *consilium*’s insistence on the need to defend the Hospital’s privileges against the jurisdictional power of the episcopate, which refers to conflicts triggered by the bishopric of Provence against which the Hospitallers had often asked for the pope’s protection.¹⁶ What is important to emphasise here is that the authors of the *consilium* were well aware both of the general financial situation of the order and of its difficulties in the East with the Mamluks. In fact, when the Papal State was established in the Marquisate of Provence, the region became a major decision-making centre both for the two military orders and for crusade policy.¹⁷

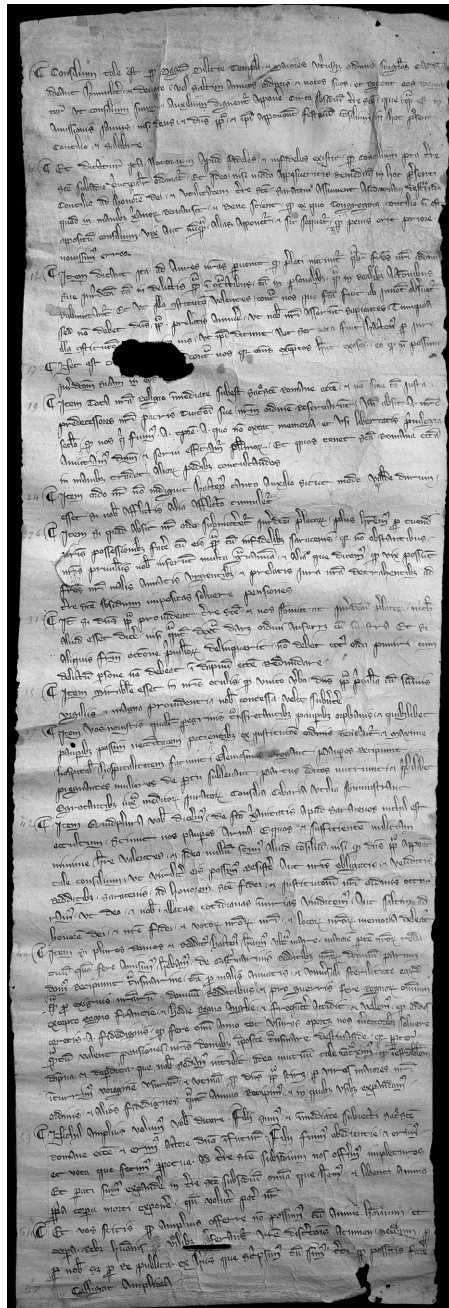


Figure 16.1 *Consilium* written for the Council of Lyon, c.1274; Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches du Rhône, 56 H 5168

Source: Archives départementales des Bouches du Rhône.

Moreover, while the distorting effect of documentary conservation cannot be ruled out, it seems that communications between the two shores of the Mediterranean intensified starting in the 1270s. The location of the Provençal ports, especially Marseille, as crossroads between Europe and the Latin East explains why the masters of the Hospital regularly informed the priors of Saint Gilles about the fate of the Holy Land. While we have mentions of several letters sent from Acre to the prior of Saint Gilles and the commander of Manosque, they have seldom been preserved.¹⁸ Those that have come down to us were preserved because they had literary quality, and they also had clear propaganda value. In the spring of 1268, for example, Hugues Revel informed prior Féraud de Barras of the sad situation of the Latins against the campaigns of Sultan Baybars.¹⁹ I will not dwell on this known document, which gives a clear picture of the losses inflicted on Christians. Suffice it to say that, faced with the problems of Western priories' in providing for the needs of the order, Hugues Revel relied heavily on relief from the priory of Saint Gilles. Yet that priory also had financial difficulties, such that in 1251, a bull by Innocent IV prohibited several Provençal commanderies from alienating their possessions, recalling that the goods donated by the faithful's devotion could not be used for any other purpose than defending the Holy Land.²⁰ The other well-known case is the letter sent by master Jean de Villiers to prior Guillaume de Villaret to inform him of the capture of Acre.²¹ According to Jean Raybaud, eighteenth-century archivist for the Grand Priory, in these circumstances this master sent part of the central archives to Provence, to be housed in the castle of Manosque.²² Jean de Villiers, who had stopped at Manosque in September 1286 on his way to Acre, had thus been able to see first-hand the solidity of the castle.²³

The brethren and the Eastern horizon

While the acts of the Templar trial provide a great deal of information about the transfer of brothers to the Eastern front, the extant evidence is quite different for the Hospital. It is disparate and leaves a large part to conjecture. In the case of a particularly well-documented commandery such as Manosque, the presence of some brothers can be attested through several mentions. But when those occurrences are interrupted for a few years and then reappear, it is always tempting to explain this absence by the brother having travelled to the East.²⁴ Until we have a prosopographic database recording all the brothers of the Hospital throughout Christendom, firm conclusions cannot be drawn. Only certain mentions allow for tentative hypotheses. For example, in the summer of 1293, a brother referred to as *Georgius Cismarinus* or *Partibus Transmarinis* appeared in Manosque, whose onomastics give a good indication of Eastern origin.²⁵ He may have been a survivor from the fall of Acre who was then sent to Provence.

The account books of the commandery of Manosque sometimes offer information to complement the rather dry list of brothers that can be drawn up from a detailed examination of the charters. Between October 1259 and May of the following year, several food expenses were listed – meat, chicken, vegetables, wine – for a *frater P.* who had returned from captivity. Perhaps he had been weakened by his

detention, because he also incurred infirmary costs.²⁶ In January 1286, an expense was also reported for wine and eggs for Isnard de Flayosc “who had arrived from overseas.”²⁷ While we know nothing about this brother knight before this mention, a few years later he was commander of Manosque and Puimoisson and even lieutenant of the master in Provence.²⁸

Several scholars have already underscored the military orders’ capacity for reaction and mobilisation, which succeeded in overcoming the great military failures by sending fresh troops each time.²⁹ However, evidence of large waves of passage does not remain, as for the Temple, and so we must be content with somewhat erratic mentions. As I wrote at the beginning, we have no idea of the proportion of brothers of the West who actually went overseas during their careers. To determine some general tendencies, we must limit ourselves to the main officers whose itineraries are a little better known. Thus, among the priors of Saint Gilles, from the origins to the 1230s, at least half of them had held an office in the East.³⁰ Thereafter, the rhythm of passages seems to have slowed down. For example, the prior Féraud de Barras, called to go to Acre in the year 1266, finally obtained a dispensation from Pope Clement IV. This case is indicating that a high ranking Hospitaller could spend his entire career in the West, and may have even preferred to do so.³¹

Nevertheless, this does not mean that the priors of Saint Gilles were indifferent to the fate of the Holy Land. The central convent criticised Guillaume de Villaret, who was guilty of only having visited the East twice when he should have gone six times.³² In the summer of 1288, however, he was in Rome to convince Pope Nicholas IV to organise a new crusade and, from the data I have collected, I believe he was returning from the East where he had gone the previous summer.³³ Moreover, following the loss of Acre, several indications suggest that passages through Provence from Marseille increased at least until the completion of the conquest of Rhodes.

Elsewhere I have stressed the importance of Marseille as a logistics hub for the Hospital and Temple in the Mediterranean.³⁴ A fleet of four or five galleys is regularly mentioned, and the brothers did business with the merchant community.³⁵ This required keeping good relations with the city, which allowed the order’s ships to load its goods at the port. In fact, the grand commander of the West, Bonifacio de Calamandrana, operated from both Marseille and Genoa to save the Latin presence in the East. It was very probably in Marseille that, in December 1291, he loaded several galleys intended “*ad partes Sirie*.”³⁶ Again in the spring of 1293, from this same port, the grand commander organised the cargo and the loading of two galleys for the East.³⁷

Other indications suggest that a large part of the Hospitallers travelled through Provence in their passage to the East. In the summer of 1295, the Order was busy acquiring houses in Tarascon and Marseille to serve as stopovers for brothers from France, England, Germany, and Auvergne going overseas.³⁸ A few months earlier, however, master Eudes des Pins asked the prior of Saint Gilles to limit the number of brothers heading overseas.³⁹ This measure, imposed for economic reasons, shows the lack of coordination between the rear-guard supply regions

and headquarters, which was not prepared for such an influx of fighters. But this measure may also indicate the atmosphere of distrust that seems to have developed between some of the dignitaries of the Order and Eudes des Pins.⁴⁰ In addition, the general chapter in 1302 felt it important to set the number of brothers that each Tongue should provide: sending 15 knights out of a total of 80 meant that the commitment of the Tongue of Provence was strong.⁴¹

The *subsidium Terrae sanctae*

In the Manosque registers, the factual information on the goods sent to the East is disparate – for example, there are many pairs of shoes and meat, as well as medicine.⁴² Beyond these anecdotal mentions, it is certain that among the cereals, beans, and cured meats produced by the commandery, a certain amount was destined for export.⁴³ In return, the Manosque Hospital had no difficulty in obtaining spices such as ginger, saffron, and sugar used for making medicinal syrups.⁴⁴ Although the accounts do not provide quantifiable data, they clearly reveal the commandery's activity between the months of April and October, which was the favourable season for navigating the Mediterranean. In the years 1260–1263 covered by the accounts, it was precisely during this period that the travels of messengers and brothers towards Marseille intensified.⁴⁵ In May 1263, we also find that the commander of Manosque went to Marseille to wait for the arrival of a ship.⁴⁶ While this latter port is the most frequently cited, sometimes Nice and Narbonne are also mentioned.⁴⁷

The accounting texts primarily provide information about the collection and sending of *responsiones*. For unknown reasons, two paper registers belonging to the treasurer of the priory of Saint Gilles, Guilhem Scriba, were forgotten by some Hospitallers officers at the commandery of Manosque after 1258.⁴⁸ (Figure 16.2)

These registers deal with the Toulouse part of the priory, which had had autonomous management with its own chapter since 1254.⁴⁹ I will not go into detail on the rather complex calculations in these registers, but will limit my comments to the general organisation. During a chapter meeting, the treasurer would draw up the list of the *responsiones* received, either by commandery (Renneville, Cagnac, Orgueil, etc.) or by bailiwick (*baillie*), that is to say the provincial unit corresponding to a group of commanderies (Albigeois, Périgord, Cahorsin, Bordelais, etc.).⁵⁰ Each commander who paid the tax received a receipt from the treasurer.⁵¹ It was therefore impossible to avoid paying the tax because the arrears due by the various commanders were also recorded in the treasurer's register.⁵² Then, the money was sent to Saint Gilles for the chapter meeting, which was held in principle five weeks after that of Toulouse. The money travelled from each commandery to the priory of Saint Gilles via Toulouse in bags sealed by each commander; their contents were recounted upon arrival.⁵³ For example, for the year 1257, at the town of Orange the treasurer took delivery of ten sealed bags containing a total of 954 livres. He handed the commander of the trip seven bags totalling 700 livres and kept the last three bags for the prior.⁵⁴ The remaining money was to be used for purchasing supplies for the Levant. Thus, that same year, some of the *responsiones* collected in Toulouse were used to buy horses in Gascony.⁵⁵

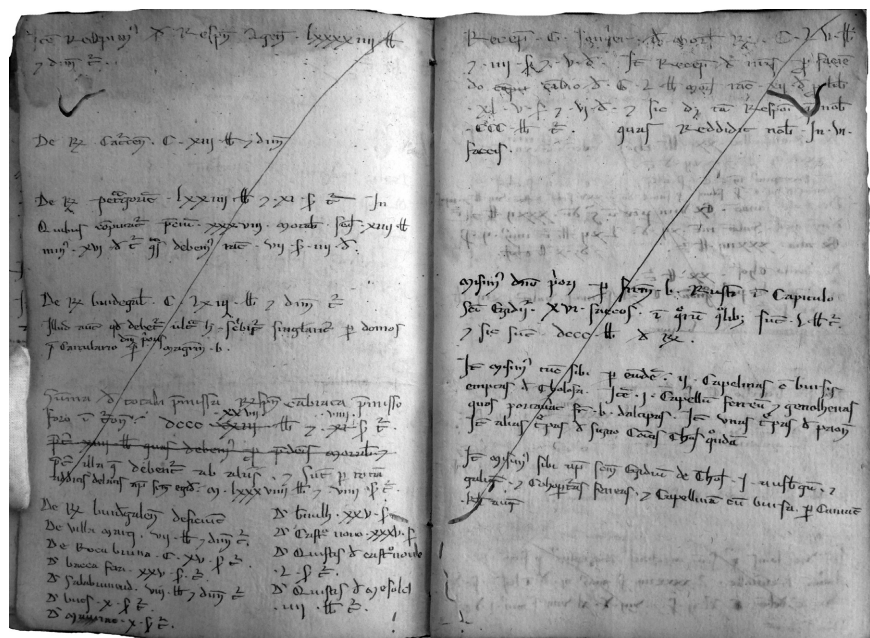


Figure 16.2 Account book of the treasurer of the priory of Saint Gilles, 1253–1258; Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches du Rhône, fols. 19v–20r

Source: Damien Carraz.

The provincial treasurer's accounts mention the register in which each commander had to enter his house's *responsiones* among the current expenses.⁵⁶ While this was done in everyday workbooks, the accounting for the years 1283–1290 preserved for Manosque corresponds to the official register. It was an actual *memorial* book presented for verifying the provincial chapter's accounts before being archived.⁵⁷ The table below summarises the accounts for the *responsio* paid annually at the provincial chapter.⁵⁸

The first point to note is the regularity of payment. Whereas Master Hugues Revel's letter mentioned earlier complained that several priories no longer properly paid this tax in the 1260s, out of the seven years covered by the register the commandery paid an average of 323 livres tournois every year. The account shows that each dependency of the commandery (La Tour d'Aigues, Saint-Michel, La Ravière) paid its own contribution, which confirms the existence of separate accounts for each dependency. The ensemble of figures provided by the document informs us primarily about the percentage of *responsiones* in the commandery's overall budget. As can be seen, supporting the Order's mission in the East represented on average 36% of the total budget over the seven years covered by the register. This seems considerable given that the commandery surely had many other costs to cover.

Table 16.1 The responsiones of the Commandery of Manosque 1284–1290

§	<i>Date the responsio was paid</i>	<i>Amount in livres tournois</i>	<i>Date of the Priory Chapter</i>	<i>Total revenue of the commandery (in livres tournois)</i>		<i>Percentage of the responsio of the total budget</i>
24	2 January 1284	300	9 July 1284	1283–1284	1,346	22%
93	29 April 1285	325	27 May 1285	1284–1285	914	36%
143	14 April 1286	300	9 June 1286	1285–1286	1,086	37%
171	27 October 1286	+ 102				
197	27 April 1287	63				
204	15 June 1287	+ 300	22 June 1287	1286–1287	828	44%
233	4 January 1288	250				
239	15 February 1288	+ 20	30 May 1288	1287–1288	780	35%
304	15 May 1289	300	19 June 1289	1288–1289	774	39%
351	9 April 1290	300		1289–1290	727	41%
<i>Average over 7 years</i>		323	/	/	922	36%

However, while these figures show tendencies, they do not represent the total budget because these account books only recorded expenses and cash earnings. Thus, an entire section of the Hospital economy must be reconstructed with other documents. Moreover, it is impossible to count all the supplies in kind that were sent to the East. In spite of these limits, it is certain that each year, even a rich commandery like Manosque had a deficit, which could amount to one-third to one-half of its budget. However, such a deficit was not abnormal, contrary to what some have argued based on the inquests of the fourteenth century.⁵⁹ In fact, it was quite normal and even structural, since the commanderies' purpose was not to make a profit, but to fund the Order's military and charitable missions. These data attest to the rather good financial health of a commandery like Manosque in a period reputed to be difficult. The 1338 inquest of the commanderies of the priory of Provence would reveal a much less favourable situation at that time.⁶⁰

In a treatise on the passage to the East written during his stay in Marseille at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the famous theologian Arnaud de Villeneuve denounced the Hospital's inability to win the Crusade.⁶¹ Obviously, his criticism echoes that addressed to the two military orders, at exactly the same time and same place, by troubadour Rostan Berenghieri.⁶² Historians have often discussed

this feeling of distrust that the military orders seem to have inspired between the pontificate of Gregory X and the trial of the Temple.⁶³ Yet we should not exaggerate such criticisms nor take them literally. Admittedly, the Hospital had gone through institutional crises, which I mentioned in passing, but these crises evidence its necessary adaptation to a changing world. Contrary to the polemics aroused by propagandists of all stripes and the challenges to military orders as a result of the affirmation of the early modern state, everyday documents of practice give a completely different vision. Donation charters' formulas were sometimes read in public, as were the *excitatoria*, which suggest that the Hospital kept devotion for the Holy Land alive. The account books identify micro-events that may seem anecdotal but which, put together, take on greater meaning: we see brethren returning from the East, messages being exchanged, and shipments of supplies. They also tell us about the collecting of *responsiones*, which testifies to the complexity of the Hospital's administrative organisation in the thirteenth century. Finally, these practical documents also give some idea of what supporting the mission in the East meant for the average commandery: over one-third of revenues was allocated to *responsiones*, not counting supplies in kind accounted for elsewhere. These results are still provisional: to estimate the budget of a commandery is one thing, to pass to the scale of the priory is another. Moreover, we must be cautious in generalising from Manosque. The data from the inquest of 1338 certainly show a great diversity of situations, between a commandery that allocated more than half of its budget to the *responsio* and another that paid nothing at all.⁶⁴

Although these scattered traces are sometimes challenging to interpret, they still point in the same direction. They attest to the intensity of work done by the Hospital in Provence to save the Latin presence in the Holy Land in the decades around the fall of Acre.

Notes

- 1 Translated from French by Cynthia J. Johnson.
- 2 *Cart Hosp*, 2: 556, no. 2213, §121 (usances).
- 3 Alain Demurger, "Outre-mer. Le passage des Templiers en Orient d'après les dépositions du Procès," in *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, eds. Damien Coulon, Catherine Otten-Froux, and Paule Pagès (Paris, 2004), 217–30; Damien Carraz, "Les Templiers de Provence et la Terre Sainte: mobilité et carrières (XIII^e–XIV^e siècle)," in *As Ordens Militares. Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros, VI Encontro sobre Ordens Militares, Palmela, 10 a 14 de março de 2010*, ed. Isabel C. Ferreira Fernandes (Palmela, 2012), 2, 779–98; Helen Nicholson, "Myths and Reality: The Crusades and the Latin East as Presented during the Trial of the Templars in the British Isles, 1308–1311," in *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Farnham, 2011), 89–99.
- 4 Judith Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East, 1187–1274* (Woodbridge, 2005).
- 5 Jacques Revel, "L'histoire au ras du sol," in Giovanni Levi, *Le pouvoir au village. L'histoire d'un exorciste dans le Piémont du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1989), i–xxxiii.
- 6 For a general overview on this phase of the crusades: Sylvia Schein, *Fidelis Crucis: The Papacy, the West and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford, 1991).

- 7 Daniel Le Blévec, "Aux origines des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem: Gérard dit 'Tenque' et l'établissement de l'ordre dans le Midi," *Annales du Midi* 89 (1977): 137–51; Anthony Luttrell, "The Earliest Hospitallers," in *Montjoie*, 37–54, here at 44–49.
- 8 As these few examples show for the house of Puimoisson, in Haute-Provence: "ospitali Iherusalem et pauperibus ejusdem domus ospitalis;" Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches du Rhône, 56 H 4861: 1194; "ad servicium dominorum nostrorum pauperum sancte domus hospitalis Ierusalem;" 56 H 4857: 1203; "hospitali pauperum sancti Johannis Iherusalem de ultra mare;" 56 H 4826: 1244.
- 9 As for the stereotyped formulas addressed to the priory of St Gilles; 56 H 4180: 1278, 1288, 1286, 1293, 1305 and 1317.
- 10 "ac itaque consideratione communiti et salubrium fructuum quos sacer ordo Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Ierosolomitani in sancta Ecclesia Dei quasi quoddam propugnaculum fidei per mundum produxit actenus, non ignari;" 56 H 4682: 23 October 1307.
- 11 The crusade was at the heart of this ecumenical council while the fusion of the military orders was discussed without any result; Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 36–50.
- 12 Archives départementales des Bouches du Rhône, 56 H 5168. Document printed for the first time by Heinrich Prutz, *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens. Mit benutzung bisher ungedruckter Materialien* (Berlin, 1888), 103–5 and 313–14; then it was the object of a line-by-line commentary by Amargier who attributed it to the Temple; Paul Amargier, "La défense de l'ordre du Temple devant le concile de Lyon en 1274," in 1274, *Année charnière: mutations et continuité, colloque international du CNRS, Lyon–Paris, 30 septembre–5 octobre 1974*, ed. Michel Mollet (Paris, 1977), 495–501. In more recent research, Forey has re-attributed it to the Hospital with convincing arguments; Alan Forey, "A Hospitaller *Consilium* (1274) and the Explanations Advanced by Military Orders from Problems Confronting them in Holy Land in the Later Thirteenth Century," in *Die Ritterorden in Umbruchs- und Krisenzeiten*, eds. Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky (Torun, 2011), 7–17.
- 13 For example, terms like "nostra religio" or "filii sumus obedientie" are relating to the typical discourse of the Hospital; 56 H 5168: lines 19 and 59.
- 14 Previously, only the presence of Guillaume de Corcelles had been noted, in the company of the Temple's envoy, the master in person; Jochen Burgdorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)* (Leiden, 2008), 679. Yet we know from other documents that Guillaume de Villaret also went to Lyon to meet the Pope who had just granted him the guard of the Comtat Venaissin; Jean Raybaud, *Histoire des grands prieurs et du grand prieuré de Saint-Gilles*, ed. César Nicolas (Nîmes, 1904), 1:190–91. Other brothers from Provence were also part of the delegation, such as Raimond de Grasse and probably Bérenger Monge, commander of Manosque; Damien Carraz, *Un commandeur ordinaire? Bérenger Monge et le gouvernement des hospitaliers provençaux au XIIIe siècle* (Ecclesia Militans, 8) (Turnhout, 2020), 369–70.
- 15 56 H 4632: 11 March 1275; 56 H 4022: 23 October 1274 and 17 May 1275.
- 16 The clarity of the positions expressed in this *consilium*, as well as reference to the decree *Volentes contra nos* by Innocent IV on the exemption, seem to indicate that the authors were able to call on the advice of specialists connected to the pontifical milieu. On the affirmation of episcopal jurisdiction against the Hospitallers in Provence, see Thierry Pécourt, "Un symptôme: le concile provincial de Riez en 1286 et les redéfinitions de l'*officium episcopi* en Provence," *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum. Internationale Zeitschrift für Konziliengeschichtsforschung* 37 (2005): 109–38, here at 127–29.
- 17 Damien Carraz, *L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124–1312). Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales* (Lyon, 2005), 472–76 and 481–87.
- 18 Damien Carraz, *Un commandeur ordinaire?* 405–6.
- 19 *Cart Hosp*, 4:291–93. suppl., no. 3308 = Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 339, fols. 112–15 (this letter was transmitted by Jean Raybaud, archivist and

- historian of the Grand Priory of St Gilles in the eighteenth century). On the influence in Provence of the events of the 1260s, see: Carraz, *L'ordre du Temple*, 439 and 498.
- 20 “veritate presentium inhibemus ne de Aurasice, Manuasca, Podiomoysson, Larderis, etc . . . , quas terras aut villas aut eorum aliquid quisquam vestrum vendere, distrahere, locare, vel alienare, inconsulto romano pontifice, quoquo modo presumat, quod si factum fuerit contra presumptum nullius esse decernimus firmitatis cum ea quam in defensione Terre sancte pia sunt fidelium devotione concessa non sunt in usus alios transferanda,” Manosque, Archives municipales, Ff 13: 27 February 1251. The bull was confirmed by Pope Clement IV in 1262. The same year, the Hospital promulgated a decree forbidding alienations: Judith Bronstein, “The Decree of 1262: A Glimpse into the Economic Decision-Making of the Hospitallers,” in *The Military Orders*, vol. 3: *History and Heritage*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot, 2008), 197–202.
 - 21 *Cart Hosp*, 3:592–93, no. 4157.
 - 22 Raybaud, *Histoire des grands prieurs*, 1: 210.
 - 23 On Jean de Villiers’ travel through Provence, where he developed closer links with Guillaume de Villaret: *Comptes de la commanderie de l’Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, eds. Karl Borchardt, Damien Carraz, and Alain Venturini (Paris, 2015), xxxiii and §161–64.
 - 24 For instance, the brother Giraudus Romeus is regularly mentioned in Manosque in the years 1230s, and then reappear again in 1251; 56 H 849bis, fols. 57–58; 56 H 4630; 56 H 4639; 56 H 4677.
 - 25 Manosque, Archives municipales, Kc 47: 23 May 1293; *Livre des privilèges de Manosque. Cartulaire municipal latin-provençal (1169–1315)*, ed. Marie-Zéphirin Isnard (Digne, 1894), no. 36, p. 124 (31 August 1293).
 - 26 “quando frater P. fuit captus xiii . . . in expensis” (the folio is much erased); “Item xvii d. pro fratre P. in cerupo;” “Item die lune x d. in carnibus pro fr. Stephano et fr. B. et fr. P. et fr. R. qui infirmabantur;” 56 H 835, fols. 1r–v, 3v.
 - 27 *Comptes . . . de Manosque*, §129.
 - 28 *Livre des privilèges de Manosque*, 128, no. 38; Marie-Joseph Maurel, *Histoire de la commune de Puimoisson et de la commanderie des chevaliers de Malte* (Paris, 1897), 378.
 - 29 Alan Forey, “Recruitment to the Military Orders (Twelfth to mid-fourteenth Centuries),” *Viator* 17 (1986): 139–71, at 161; Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land*, 136–39.
 - 30 From information contained in Raybaud, *Histoire des grands prieurs*, 13 out of 27 priors had held an office in the East (a minimal estimation because it is likely that the passage of several brothers to the East left no traces). See also Pierre Santoni, “Les deux premiers siècles du prieuré de Saint-Gilles de l’ordre de l’Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem,” in *Des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, de Chypre et de Rhodes hier aux chevaliers de Malte aujourd’hui* (Paris, 1985), 114–83, here at 150–51.
 - 31 Raybaud, *Histoire des grands prieurs*, 1:176; *Cart Hosp*, 3:137–38, nos. 3215–3216: 12 and 14 March 1266.
 - 32 *Cart Hosp*, 3:771, no. 4462: May–June 1299. On the constitutional crisis created by Villaret’s insistence in convening the General Chapter in Provence: Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 156–61.
 - 33 Raybaud, *Histoire des grands prieurs*, 1:208. In June 1287, Villaret was at Marseille where he had his personal effects delivered; *Comptes . . . de Manosque*, §210. There are no further traces of him in Provence until 1288.
 - 34 Damien Carraz, “*Causa defendende et extollende christianitatis*. La vocation maritime des ordres militaires en Provence (XII^e–XIII^e siècle),” in *Les ordres militaires et la mer, 130e Congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, La Rochelle, 2005*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 2009), 21–46, at 24–25 and 32–38; Carraz, *L’ordre du Temple*, 243–46.
 - 35 For the context of the conquest of Rhodes as seen from Marseille, see: Damien Carraz, “Les Lengres à Marseille au XIV^e siècle. Les activités militaires d’une famille d’armateurs dans un port de croisade,” *Revue historique* 309 (2009): 755–77, at 765–68.

- 36 This is suggested by Pope Nicolas IV' request to Charles II of Anjou to allow the Hospital to load its galleys with wheat from Provence; 56 H 4023: 13 December 1291. See also: Jochen Burgtorf, "A Mediterranean Career in the Late Thirteenth Century: The Hospitaller Grand Commander Bonifacio of Calamandrana," in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, eds. Karl Borchardt, Nikolas Jaspert, and Helen Nicholson (Aldershot, 2007), 73–85, at 79–80; and Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 77–79.
- 37 *I registri della cancellaria Angioina (1265–1290)*, ed. Ricardo Filangieri (Naples, 2000), 107, no. 54: 31 March 1293.
- 38 *Cart Hosp*, 3: 667, no. 4284: 21 July 1295.
- 39 *Cart Hosp*, 3: 662, no. 4276: 31 March 1295.
- 40 On the conflict between Master Eudes des Pins and certain dignitaries, headed by Guillaume de Villaret and Bonifacio de Calamandrana: Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 151–55.
- 41 *Cart Hosp*, 4: 39, no. 4574, §14: 28 October 1302.
- 42 56 H 835, fol. 15v: 13 February 1261; *Comptes . . . de Manosque*, §161: 18 August 1286.
- 43 *Comptes . . . de Manosque*, xlix–l. These are the kinds of products found primarily in export licences granted to the military orders by the Angevin authorities; Kristjan Too-maspoeg, "Le ravitaillement de la Terre sainte. L'exemple des possessions des ordres militaires dans le royaume de Sicile au XIII^e siècle," in *L'expansion occidentale (XI^e–XV^e siècles). Formes et conséquences, XXXIII^e Congrès de la SHMESP, Madrid, 23–26 mai 2002* (Paris, 2003), 143–58, at 150; Damien Carraz, "Christi fideliter militantium in subsidio Terre Sancte. Les ordres militaires et la première maison d'Anjou (1246–1342)," in *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, V Encontro sobre Ordens Militares, Palmela, 15 a 18 de fevereiro de 2006*, ed. Isabel C. Ferreira Fernandes (Palmela, 2009), 549–82, at 569–70.
- 44 56 H 835, fols. 1v, 2r–v, 18r–v, 22v, 33r, 42v, 48r, etc.
- 45 Travel of brothers or *nuncios* to Marseille: 56 H 835, fol. 8r: 2 May 1260; fol. 11v: 15 August 1260; fol. 21v: 2 October? 1261; fol. 38r: 29 April 1263; fol. 45r: 22 October 1263; fol. 45v: 4 November 1263; etc. The accounts from the 1280s, however, provide fewer mentions of trade with Marseille; *Comptes . . . de Manosque*, §161 and 248. Yet I don't think we can attribute this relative silence of the documentation to an actual slowing down of supplying the Latin East in the decade preceding the fall of Acre.
- 46 "It. xx sol. in expensis quas fecit preceptor eundo Massillie quando navis venit;" 56 H 835, fol. 39r: 20 May 1263.
- 47 Nice: 56 H 835, fol. 45v: 4 November 1263; *Comptes . . . de Manosque*, §164: September 1286; Narbonne: 56 H 835, fol. 9v: 20 May 1260.
- 48 Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches du Rhône, 56 H 2624: account for the years 1253–58; 56 H 2625: account for the years 1255–57.
- 49 Raybaud, *Histoire des grands prieurs*, 1: 162.
- 50 56 H 2625, fol. 18v–19v: *responsiones* received by commanderies at the chapter meeting in Toulouse, 14 May 1256; fols. 28v–29r: received in Toulouse in 1257; fols. 50v–51r: total of the amounts received for the priory of Toulouse; fols. 60v–61r: total of the *responsiones* received from several houses at the chapter in Toulouse, 25 April 1257.
- 51 "Item in alio cartulario sine postibus [m . . .] veteri est quadam cedula que continetur qualiter fr. Borrellus anno preterito suam reddidit responsionem;" 56 H 2625, fol. 10v.
- 52 "Item responsione anni preteriti scilicet xiiii libri turonenses" = amounts received in Toulouse from the house of Caignac, after the Ascension of 1256; 56 H 2625, fol. 7r.
- 53 Each commander was given a seal for sealing his own sacks; 56 H 2625, fols. 44v–45v and 50v–50r.
- 54 "Notandum quod nos apud Aurasicam recepimus de r(esponsione) capituli illius in viiii saccis sigillatis DCCCC lb. Item in alio sacco LIIII lb. et XII s. De quibus mandato domini prioris preceptor navis recepit vii saccos de DCC lb. reliquis tres sacci

- sigillati remanserint penes dictum priorem. Item summa debite post hec vel predictae responsio erat cum responsione domus sancti Egidii CCCC XL VI lb.," 56 H 2625, fols. 51v–52r.
- 55 "De dicta morl. sunt poniti in empcone equi empti apud Insulam: cccl s. de responsione Sancti Gaudencii. Item in empcone equorum emptorum in Vasconie de responsione Ber-rauce: . . . s.," fol. 28v.
- 56 "Item est ibi qualiter responsiones sunt recepte. Et de computis A. Johannis tunc factis," 56 H 2625, fol. 10v.
- 57 Damien Carraz and Karl Borchardt, "Les pratiques comptables de l'ordre de l'Hôpital en Provence. Le cas de la commanderie de Manosque (années 1260–1350)," in *De l'autel à l'écrtoire. Genèse des comptabilités princières en Occident (XII^e–XIV^e siècle), actes du colloque international d'Aix-en-Provence, 13–14 juin 2013*, ed. Thierry Pécourt (Paris, 2017), 131–65, at 138–43.
- 58 On calculating the commandery's budget: *Comptes . . . de Manosque*, xlvii–lii.
- 59 Benoît Beaucage, "Une énigme des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem. Le déficit chronique de leurs commanderies du Moyen Rhône au prieuré de Provence en 1338," *Provence historique* 30 (1980): 137–64.
- 60 Then the commandery was paying only 166 l. 13 s. 4 d.; *Comptes . . . de Manosque*, xxxiii.
- 61 Donatella Nebbiai, "Un médecin et théologien à Marseille. Arnaud de Villeneuve (1304–1310)," in *Villes méditerranéennes au Moyen Âge*, eds. Élisabeth Malamut and Mohamed Ouerfelli (Aix-en-Provence, 2014), 279–95, at 286.
- 62 Carraz, *L'ordre du Temple*, 511.
- 63 For a general overview: Philippe Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la Péninsule ibérique. Les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252–1369)* (Madrid, 2004), 60–76.
- 64 Claude-France Hollard, "Les Hospitaliers du Sud-Est de la France en 1338: la vocation de l'ordre à la mesure des comptes," *Provence Historique* 45 (1995): 75–86, at 77–78.

17 Thinking about the Holy Land and crusading in the Crowns of Aragon and Navarre (thirteenth century)

Maria Bonet and Julia Pavón

Introduction

The Holy Land and the Crusades continued to be a point of reference in the thoughts and ambitions of many men and women in the Hispanic territories of the Crowns of Aragon and Navarre during the thirteenth century. Little over a century after the onset of Western expansion towards the East Mediterranean coasts, the attraction of Jerusalem and the crusader territories still endured in the Eastern kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula, not only as a myth or symbol but as a reality manifested in political action. When the popes requested that the Hispanic kingdoms contributed to the crusade, the evocation of crusading had a different echo in Castile from Aragon and Navarre. In the first, it served as a basis to strengthen the narrative arguments in literature and other sources related to the concept and ideal of the so-called Reconquest; whereas, in the second, it responded to different circumstances and needs, as we will see in these pages.¹

In order to disentangle the mechanisms and function of people's perceptions and ideals in Aragon and Navarre concerning Jerusalem, the Holy Land and the Crusades, we need to pose certain significant questions. We will thus first examine how the Holy Land was perceived through its principal agents, the Templars and Hospitallers, who were understood *a priori* to be the most direct representatives of the Holy Land. We will then assess the interventions of the main political figures in this process of reception and establishment of ideological paradigms and models, since the Aragonese and Navarrese monarchies understood these overseas activities as a point of reference for certain interests and policies, above and beyond its programme for reconquering the Iberian Peninsula. Both the idealisation of the Crusades and the possibility of taking part in them thereby seem to have become a resource contributing to the monarchy's own projection on the international diplomatic scene, in which these two Hispanic monarchies were taking an increasingly active role. Finally, we will point to the no less important presence of the Aragonese and Navarrese in the conflicts taking place in the crusader states, both as members of military orders and as combatants sent to support to their leaders' commitments, as was the case with the retinue of the Counts of Champagne and Kings of Navarre. Their presence reinforced the bonds between the Iberian Peninsula and the Holy Land and revived the mythical status of the Holy Land in Spanish culture.

Thinking about the Holy Land and the role of the military orders

Perceptions of the Holy Land were expressed in different ways, and the Holy Places, Jerusalem, and the Latin East, called Outremer, were iconic sites that established a point of reference throughout the thirteenth century, as the Aragonese and Navarrese documentation shows, with some changes regarding the twelfth century. More concretely, this link is demonstrated in the votive donations destined for the Hospitallers and Templars. As the respective texts report, in the case of the donations to the Hospital in Jerusalem from the remote Pyrenean county of Pallars, the documentary narrative refers to the Hospital of Jerusalem and the poor of Jerusalem,² although from the early thirteenth century the institution was also known as the Hospital *de Sa Mar i Ultramar*.³ In this Pyrenean region, where hospitality and the care of passers-by constituted major activities, the mythical status of the Hospital of Jerusalem functioned as an iconic image of the role of the order in the mountain pass across the Pyrenees. The Hospitallers' activities with the poor in Outremer were thereby carried out in unison with that of their work in the Catalan commanderies, such as in Cervera, where its hospital was linked to the one in the Latin East: *et sancto Ihoanni Iherosolimitano et pauperibus Sancti Ihoannis ultramarinis et citramarinis et Ospitali Ceruariensi*.⁴ It can be seen, however, that from the mid-thirteenth century onwards, the references to Jerusalem had faded, giving way to mentions of "the sick or poor of *Ultramar*."⁵ By the last decades of the century, the allusion to connections with Jerusalem had practically disappeared, and the most usual mentions refer only to the Hospital of Saint John, as in Barcelona's commandery in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.⁶ This model of behaviour, which spiritually justifies and contextualises the donations to the Hospitallers, is similarly reflected in the documents of the Priory of Navarre, and the reference to the Hospital of Saint John gradually came to take the place of Jerusalem, which had been the ideological focal point during the foundational years of the order.⁷ In the case of Navarre, it is important to consider the network of commanderies on the pilgrims' road of Santiago de Compostela, some of which included hospitals, as was the case in Leache, Iracheta, Cizur, and Bargota. The original principles of the Hospital of Saint John in the Latin East and the activities that emerged around the Way of Saint James thus merged as the object of the donations destined for the care of pilgrims and the poor.⁸

Care of the sick and, above all, of the poor, was a prominent topic in the way the Hospital was perceived and a major reason for donations to the order in the thirteenth century. This is reflected in the story by the fourteenth-century Castilian Juan Manuel, Prince of Villena, about Sancha, the daughter of King James I of Aragon, who went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land dressed in humble clothing, and spent her last days tending to the poor in the Hospital at Acre.⁹ Although it is not possible to check the veracity of this story, it does reflect the tradition in which caring for the poor and sick was presented as an attractive choice and adhered to the Hospitaller's commitment to the poor, while also being particularly associated with the Holy Land.¹⁰

References to the Temple frequently mention the *Militia* of the Temple, although these were sometimes identified with the place where the order had been established, such as Tortosa,¹¹ and occasionally it was referred to as *Militie Templi Salomonis* or the Temple in Jerusalem.¹² Bishop García of Tarazona used this location in 1260, echoing the papal petitions of Innocent IV (1253) to gather resources to help the order attack the enemies of the faith: “*contra fidei catholice in partibus Iherosolimitanis*,” and recalling that it was in Jerusalem that “*redemptor noster in salutis humane*” had redeemed us with his blood. The bishop also focussed on the role of the Templars as defenders of the Holy Land under extremely adverse conditions.¹³ He thereby acknowledged the order’s bond with Jerusalem, and that of the Holy City with Christ’s redemptive sacrifice. García thus used “Holy Land” as the main appeal to attract donations, drawing on the myth of the Holy City. In reality, however, the military objectives of the Hispanic rulers at that time were focussed on the Crusades or fights against the Muslims in North Africa and on consolidating their frontiers in southern Spain.¹⁴ The military obligations of these institutions in the Iberian Peninsula were in line with this idealisation of the Holy Sites, which had been so important in the twelfth century. The military activity in the Holy Land was even reflected in some murals in the Hospitallers’ women’s convent in Sigena in the early thirteenth century.¹⁵ Finally, it should be noted that such recognition of the role of the Templars and Hospitallers in the Holy Land motivated the contributions, especially economic, that the Templar and Hospital provincial demarcations made to their central convents in the Latin East.¹⁶

By the last quarter of the thirteenth century, however, the idealisation of these orders in respect to their central role in the crusader movement had reached a crisis. In various interventions, the Kings of Aragon declared their opposition to sending further military aid and supplies to the Hospitallers. They argued that while the war with France and Castile lasted, nothing should leave their realms and even though this prohibition was occasionally lifted, the restrictions were generally maintained.¹⁷ Such actions illustrate how the policy of military action against rival Christian rulers was given priority over that against the infidel in the Crusades. Arguments were also voiced concerning the need to combat infidels within the kingdom itself, as King Alfonso III explained to the Master of the Temple in Ultramar in 1290, in response to a request for resources *in restauracionem et auxilium dicte Terre (Sancte)* by the Master of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon.¹⁸ As in this case, the expression “Holy Land” served to identify the Latin East, particularly in the second half of the century. Similarly, in the fourteenth century, James II also decided to stop sending supplies, on the grounds that the Hospitallers had obligations with respect to the Crusade in Granada.¹⁹ Overall, the ability of these two orders to offer aid had been limited by their commitments during the military expansion in the Peninsula.²⁰ Moreover, the Hispanic kings of the period refused to dedicate revenues acquired by the Spanish Church to the needs of the Latin East.²¹

On a different level, but in the same context of the crisis affecting the Crusades and the orders, Ramon Llull presents an attempt to reorientate the crusader movement and boost the involvement of the orders. Thus, when all had been practically lost at the end of the thirteenth century, Llull fully embraced this idea of

a unification of the military orders, which he defended in his *Quomodo Terra Sancta recuperari potest* (1292),²² and later called for a unified force led by a warrior king (*rex bellator*).²³ He still believed in the Crusades, but they were now perceived as nothing more than a way by which to secure the Holy Sites with the ultimate aim of converting the infidel.²⁴

The Crusades and the recovery of the Holy Land in political thought and diplomatic and political action

In terms of political practice and ideology, the Holy Land was a key issue in the consolidation of the image of the king, who would not only lead the Crusades but was also expected to play a leading role in them in relation to the pope during a period of incipient international relations. One case in point was the failed marriage of Peter II of Aragon, who was eager to negotiate a marriage to Maria of Montferrat while concomitantly seeking to obtain a divorce from his wife. Possibly to win the sympathy of Pope Innocent III, he may have agreed to launch an expedition to aid the crusader states in 1207 – a crusade that never took place.²⁵ In Acre, the commitment to the marriage was sealed in the presence of the main ecclesiastical and political authorities, while requiring that Peter II should “complete the advance into the Holy Land” within a few months.²⁶ The agreement stressed that the marriage could only take place if the impediments to it were removed: that is, if the Crusade was accomplished and the divorce granted. For the Eastern authorities, this commitment could have been the opportunity to obtain major military reinforcements, even though the king had various battle fronts active in both the north and south of his domains, which made it impossible for him to provide military support.

The marriage between King Richard I of England and Berengaria of Navarre in 1191 steered Navarre towards playing an indirect role in the diplomatic background to the Third Crusade. In addition to guaranteeing King Sancho VII the Strong of Navarre control of the English dominions in Gascony, this marriage, negotiated by Eleanor of Aquitaine and contracted in Limassol, demonstrates that there was a certain interest on the part of Navarre in extending its political influence abroad.²⁷ Although Spanish historiography has perceived this marriage as Sancho’s opportunity to take part in the Third Crusade, this is based solely on *El Conde Lucanor* by Juan Manuel, and there are no historical data that the king set out on the Crusade, or even that he was in some way involved.²⁸ Later reconstructions have generated a discourse of exaltation of King Sancho VII the Strong as having had a lengthy political career fighting the Saracens, both in the Iberian Peninsula (Navas de Tolosa, 1212 and Alcacer do Sal, 1217) and beyond,²⁹ with chronicles such as that of Roger of Howden locating him on journeys to Morocco (1196–1197), in this case on a peace mission.³⁰

Whether or not Sancho fought in the Latin East, as there is no historical evidence to corroborate that he travelled to the Eastern Mediterranean, he was the object of both direct and indirect appeals by the Eastern authorities. It is striking that original texts dating from the twelfth century, in which the Patriarch of Jerusalem

and the Master of the Hospital call for help from all Christendom, are preserved in Navarre. The first, dated after Saladin's death, describes the defencelessness of the Latin Church and appeals to the Church authorities for help (1193),³¹ while the next three, dated 1196, 1199, and 1202, are from the Master of the Hospital, Geoffroy de Donjon (1193–1202), and ask for Sancho's support in the face of possible attacks by the armies of Saphadin, Saladin's brother (Figure 17.1).³² This appeal for help should be seen within the context of the rising military tension with Muslims on both shores of the Mediterranean. In the Iberian Peninsula, the Almohades represented a real threat.³³ Indeed, Pope Innocent III linked the struggle in the Iberian Peninsula with that in the Holy Land.³⁴ Navarre was to play a leading role here, due to Sancho the Strong's diplomatic skills in negotiating with the Muslims, and his financial resources.³⁵ Consequently, papal legates like Jacinto, and later Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, did not hesitate to visit the court in Pamplona and seek allies for the war in the Iberian Peninsula, which lasted from the late twelfth century until the campaign of 1212.³⁶ At that time, information from and to the Holy Land was also disseminated via the papal curia, which presented an image of Sancho as a firm ally of the crusades taking place beyond the kingdoms of Spain.³⁷ Nonetheless, his internal problems prevented his plans from coming to fruition, and he had to abandon the possibility, which his successors, the Counts of Champagne and Brie, were later to consider and become directly involved in

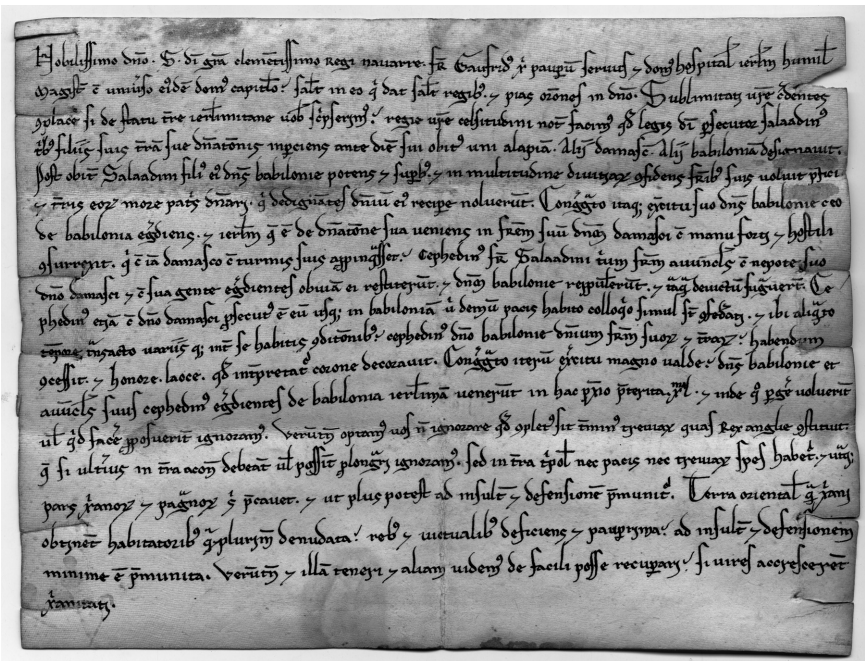


Figure 17.1 [1196], April 23. Geoffroy de Donjon, Master of the *Hospital*, ask for Sancho's support in the face of possible attacks by the armies of Saphadin, Saladin's brother

Source: ©Archivo General de Navarra, Sección Comptos, Caja 2, n. 3.

crusading activities. In response to the Pope's appeals, and with varying degrees of success, they ended up taking an active part in conflicts in the Latin East: Theobald I, in 1239–1241,³⁸ and Theobald II in 1270.³⁹ Indeed, the former's participation in the campaigns in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Ashkelon contributed to the prestige of his image, as we know from the missive sent to him several years later by the Master of the Hospital, Guillaume de Chateaufort (1242–1248), and conserved in the archives of Navarre. This document, dated 1244, was intended to introduce Arnau Polin, Prior of France (1239–1248), to Theobald, to inform and explain to him certain issues related to the Holy Land.⁴⁰

The Crusades thus provided a focal purpose for the kings of these territories, mainly as a useful tool on the international stage and as an ideological source of authority.⁴¹ This, however, did not distract them from their own military campaigns or stop them from addressing military and diplomatic needs in the Iberian Peninsula.⁴² James I of Aragon and Pope Clement IV promoted an alliance with the Mongols in 1267. The merchant James Alaric of Perpignan was sent as an envoy to Abaqa Khan's court to raise support for the Crusade against Baybars.⁴³ Abaqa told the pope that he planned an expedition to attack the Sultan of Egypt⁴⁴ by forming a coalition of his own army and those of James I, the pope and Louis IX. Moreover, James Alaric, as the ambassador of James I, formed part of an embassy comprising Abaqa, King Hethum of Armenia, Emperor Michael VII Palaeologus of Byzantium, and Manuel I Komnenos of Trebizond, who travelled across their various kingdoms to promote this expedition.⁴⁵ In this context, whereas James I was willing to take part in a crusade together with these Eastern allies, other dignitaries were more hesitant because the Mongols and Byzantines were considered to be "not reliable allies," as Alfonso X put it.⁴⁶ The complexities of this initiative went far beyond the limits of a conventional crusade, reflecting this controversial alliance. During the planning stage of the expedition, however, there was, on the one hand, an understanding that this was a French crusade encouraged by the pope, which could in some sense be considered Guelph, while on the other hand, the initiative was promoted by James I, who wanted to build a coalition that would extend beyond the Catholic West. Initially, Pope Clement IV reacted against the King of Aragon's plan, preferring the idea of a crusade led by the King of France.⁴⁷ The vicissitudes of the Guelph-Ghibelline conflict in relation to the Kingdom of Sicily, conditioned the diplomatic activities concerning a reactivation of the Crusades at this point in time.

James I attempted to organise another crusade in 1268,⁴⁸ and he also attended the Second Council of Lyon where, in 1274, according to his chronicle, he again advocated the launching of a crusade. It is important to note that at least four troubadours presented an image of the king as a possible or effective participant in the Eastern Crusades.⁴⁹ Olivier lo Templier urged James I to go to the Holy Land, recognising the king as the bravest monarch in the world, referring and connecting this also to the king's conquest of Valencia and Mallorca. On this issue, Linda Paterson has questioned whether Olivier had been a propagandist of the Church or even a critical voice regarding the king's "débâcle."⁵⁰

To carry out the expedition in 1268, the king amassed a large navy consisting of 30 galleys and large vessels. According to his account in the *Llibre dels feits* (Figure 17.2), a storm took the fleet by surprise, and James I was advised to abandon

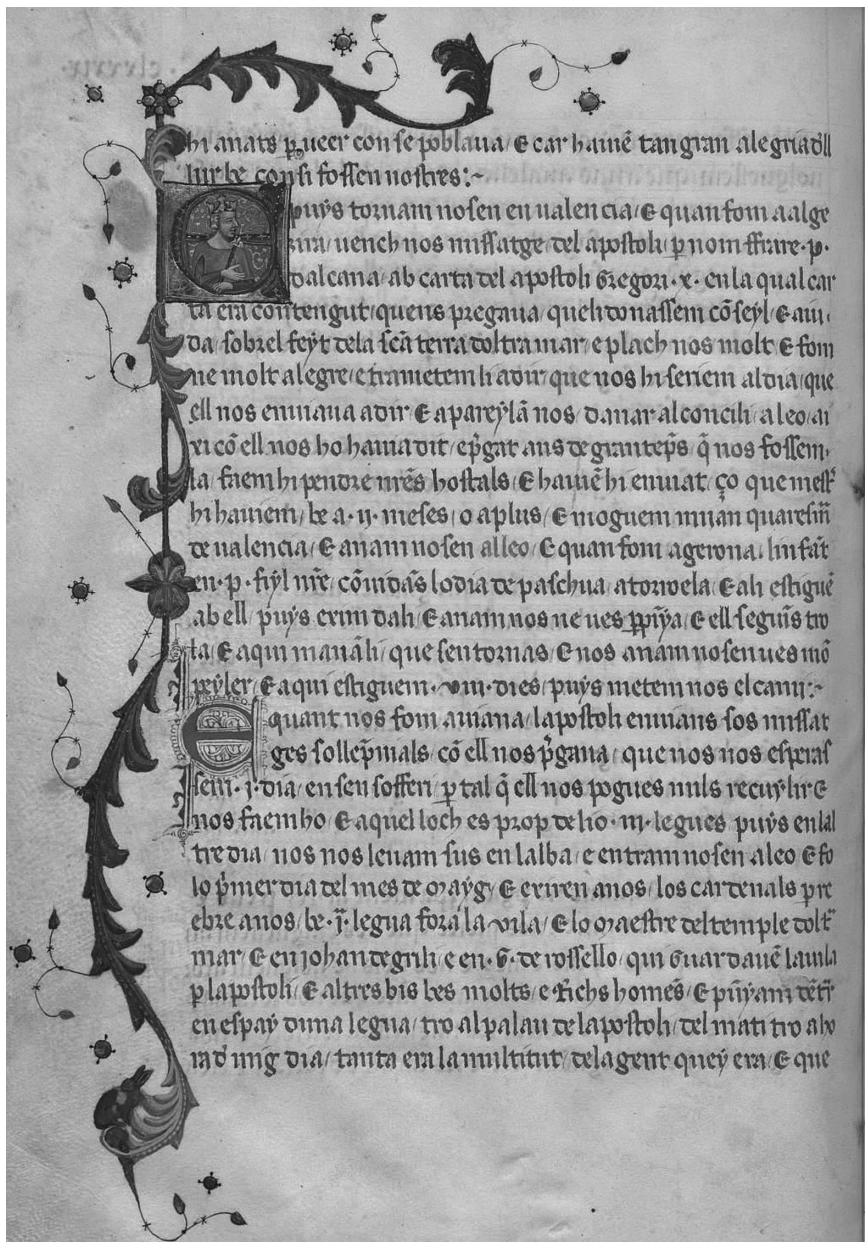


Figure 17.2 James I is invited by Pope Gregory X to the council for discussing the theme of the Holy Land

Source: © Llibre dels feits, manuscripts, Universitat de Barcelona, f. 189 v.

his plans.⁵¹ The expedition nonetheless continued undeterred, led by his illegitimate sons Fernando Sánchiz de Castro and Pedro Ferrándiz.⁵² The king himself went home, although it is probable that he had in fact never intended to accompany the troops. He was by then 61 years old, and in his own view, "God did not want him to go to Ultramar," and "he might either die or be captured."⁵³ In reality, James I had spent a large part of his life fighting the infidel, and several popes had equated these activities with the Crusades through letters of support and indulgences.⁵⁴ In this sense, we might ask to what extent the episode at the Council of Lyon (1274), described in detail in James I's chronicle, was a narrative strategy used by the king to present himself as a perfect warrior king.⁵⁵ His lengthy speech and the plan for the Crusade do not in fact appear in the records of the council, although we cannot discard the possibility that he had held some private conversation on the resources and strategies referred to in the Chronicle.⁵⁶ Whatever the case, the king's version demonstrates his active prominence in the project and his willingness to undertake this expedition (which, as noted, never took place), and which was presented as the culmination of the Chronicle at almost the very end of the text and of his life.

These chapters of the Chronicle underscore the importance of crusades in the Holy Land as the main expression of war against the infidel, in which King James I also played an exceptional part. The episode in the council in which he advised the pope to undertake the expedition to Ultramar was to crown his career as the leading, or at least outstanding, Christian king; and when he left the council he was able to state that: *ui es honrada tota Espanya*, that is, in representation of the whole of Spain.⁵⁷ Shortly before he died, he ended his political testament, the Chronicle,⁵⁸ revealing his complete identification with the Crusades and the pope.⁵⁹ It is possible that by means of this account, he was attempting to erase the shadows from his early life caused by the death of his father in the latter's fight against the crusaders and Pope Innocent III; or even his "sins," which had affected his relationship with the papacy. Moreover, the various chapters devoted to promoting and planning the Crusade are an apologetic narrative in which James asserts his absolute commitment as a crusader king. This probably silenced some of the more critical voices among the troubadours,⁶⁰ and marked the high point of his career as a warrior king whose considered purpose was to combat the infidel.⁶¹ In the king's political thought, the Crusade was the highest expression of his status as a spiritual and military leader. In this sense, beyond the recognition of other agents, as highlighted by Suzanne F. Cawsey, we emphasise that it was the king himself who contributed to the construction and dissemination of this image.⁶²

The Crusade in Ultramar was thus not only an iconic reference in the discourse on what it meant to be a king but it also took on a diplomatic dimension, just as it had done in the previous generation. A considerable number of historiographical analyses have raised doubts regarding the king's true commitment to the Crusade in the Holy Land;⁶³ and it is ultimately difficult to assess how serious he was, although he and his forces certainly invested considerable resources in it, such as in the fleet he sent in 1268 and the companies led by his sons, which remained in the Latin East for some time.⁶⁴

On the other hand, the actions and policies regarding the Crusade determined by Theobald IV and V of Champagne, whose lineage began to rule in Navarre after 1234, represented a counterpoint to those of James I. These French counts' vision of the Crusades was not that of an ideology designed to maintain an ideal of the Christian warrior fighting against Al-Andalus, as some of their ancestors had declared.⁶⁵ As Hispanic kings, they ceased to participate in the direct struggle against Al-Andalus, since Navarre no longer had any borders with Muslim territories. However, as Counts of Champagne and Brie, and thus as vassals of the King of France, they were involved in Western politics and, therefore, had a vested interest in crusading.⁶⁶ This was manifested, for example, in the bulls issued by Pope Gregory IX that preceded the campaigns of Theobald IV in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Ascalon (1239–1241).⁶⁷ The activities of the Kings of Navarre in the Latin East would therefore seem to have been a result of their need to reaffirm their role as Christian kings involved in a holy war, and also as members of the French feudal network, even when such a role at home was no longer necessary.⁶⁸ Overall, the understanding of the Holy Land and crusading by the different Kings of Aragon and Navarre presents distinctive features. In both cases, these were important issues, but in that of James I, even though he was involved in various initiatives of this kind, the question was more ideological than operative.

Aragonese and Navarrese presence at the last crusader sites in the Holy Land

That Kings Theobald I and II (d.1270) of Navarre took part in the crusader campaigns, even though they were vassals of the King of France, may have paved the way for the Navarrese nobility also to participate in the Crusades. However, there is no historical evidence that indicates either the interest or the participation of members of the aristocracy in accompanying their kings. What might have been the ideological basis behind this involvement of the Navarrese kings as the thirteenth century advanced? What role might the Crusades have played within the complex political panorama in which these kings attempted to secure their own position in the peninsular politics? The documents of the era provide little evidence, and the available testimonies tend to refer to the political dimension of this enterprise. The historian H. d'Arbois de Jubainville makes no mention of the possible involvement or participation of the Navarrese warrior aristocracy or of the members of the military orders in their kings' campaigns (Figure 17.3).⁶⁹

The lack of historical records in Navarre pertaining to the Crusades means that in order to understand the presence and motivation of the Navarrese kings, we are necessarily confined to two issues. The first, which is well known, aligns this discourse with that of the two kings' interventions in the expeditions to the Holy Land and North Africa, respectively. Theobald I, who arrived in Acre under the protection of Pope Gregory IX,⁷⁰ in early September 1239, was certainly one of the most successful leaders in the so-called "Barons' Crusade", as he was able to exploit the disagreements among the Ayyubid dynasty of Damascus in order to



Figure 17.3 Crusade of Theobald I, king of Navarre and count of Champagne and Brie (1239–1240)

Source: Raquel García Arancón, “Crusade of Theobald I in the Holy Land” in *Gran Atlas de Navarra. 2. Historia*, ed. Ángel Martín Duque (Pamplona, 1986), 95.

seize Beaufort and Safed in the summer of 1240, despite the previous failures and lack of cohesion among the Christian armies.⁷¹ His negotiations with the Governors of Jerusalem and Damascus, however, and particularly with the latter, al-Salih Isma’i’l, would end up by bringing him into disrepute with the local Franks, and only one year after landing he was forced to return to Europe. Thirty years later, his son and heir in Navarre, Theobald II, as a vassal of King Louis IX of France, was to take part in the summer campaign of 1270; he died shortly after leading his troops back to Trapani (Sicily).⁷²

Our second source of information regarding the perceptions of the Holy Land is to be found in the documents referring to the pope’s supervision of and interest in the Crusades led by Theobald I (1235–1237) and Theobald II (1266 and 1268); and in the appeal for special funding that Theobald II made to finance his crusade, relying on the pope’s support in 1267, which was implemented in the form of a special tithe from the church in Navarre.⁷³ Nevertheless, despite the attempts by different authors from the sixteenth century onwards to compile a list of the Navarrese knights involved in the Crusade, such as that of the Jesuit José Moret, official chronicler of the Kingdom of Navarre in the eighteenth century, the results have been unsatisfactory. Indeed, although the contemporary chronicles tell us of the presence of hundreds of knights, we can only be certain – from information in *The Tithe Book* – that six Navarrese clerics were involved in that particular military campaign: the Abbots of Navascués, Ciga, and Peralta, the Rector of Garriz, and the chaplains of Beorlegui and Arbotet.⁷⁴

Other visitors too forged links between Outremer and the West, including members of the military orders, and they served as a bridge between the crusader states and local territories. Their dignitaries engaged in relations with the political powers in Aragon and Navarre and requested their aid by informing them of the enormous difficulties the orders faced. Figures such as Arnold of Castellnou, Grand Commander of the Temple in 1277; Peter of Montcada, Commander of the Temple of Acre from 1284 to 1289;⁷⁵ and the Hospitaller Guy of La Guespa, Lieutenant of the Master in 1281,⁷⁶ strengthened the ties between East and West. Ultimately, their letters and the claims, actions, and propaganda of other knights had an influence on the West's collective vision of the crusader states, and consequently its response.⁷⁷

One of the most notable visitors to the Holy Land was Ramon Llull, who is believed to have travelled there in 1264. Later, in the early fourteenth century, he travelled to Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia with the aim of preaching and converting the local inhabitants to Christianity. Jerusalem had an important place in Llull's work, particularly in the *Liber de Fine* (1305), in which he charted a crusade that never took place, and for which he considered a route via Al-Andalus and North Africa as the only viable way of reaching the Holy City,⁷⁸ although in other treatises he defended the eastern route. Jerusalem remained the symbolic point of reference, although the ideas of the crusade had been adapted to new needs in changing times.

Conclusions

The images of the Holy Land and the Crusades were present in the political and devotional thinking of the thirteenth century in the Crowns of Aragon and Navarre. Among these, can be found the symbol of Jerusalem and the idea of the Holy Land, along with other references such as the charitable activities of the Hospitallers. However, in the military sphere, the members of the orders as the major representatives of the Latin East had clearly lost prestige by the last decades of the thirteenth century. In the mythology surrounding Outremer, military combat was giving way to powerful ideas such as conversion, as defended by Llull, and care for the needy.

By the dawn of the thirteenth century, the perception of the crusader states had undergone change in the Christian kingdoms of Europe. The monarchy in Aragon and Navarre, after the struggle with the Almohades in the south had ended, was faced with a new political scenario, and diplomatic relations opened up to include the Crusades as an instrument and framework for negotiation and alliances that could be used to attract the papacy to their interests. Despite the loss of most of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem from the late twelfth century onwards, the Kingdoms of Aragon and Navarre continued to demonstrate their influence in the international sphere in relation to the Crusades and the defence of the crusader lands, and this was a crucial point in their political position and devotional aims, since it clearly demonstrated their alliance with the papacy. Indeed, over the course of the thirteenth century, these kings had manifested their interest in the Crusades and taken part in them, with varying degrees of success; and this was certainly understood as an assertion of their role as Christian kings, as reflected in

the literary tradition, while concomitantly marking certain differences in terms of their connections with France.

In the case of Aragon, at the end of his reign, James I presented himself to the pope as the leading Spanish crusader king, and as an active proponent of the crusader movement. In Navarre, while the Champagne dynasty also answered the pope's call, but showed little interest in internal Iberian affairs. The rather late presence of these monarchs on this crusader scene was probably the result of the declining importance of the Reconquest and the growing interest in the Mediterranean expansion among the lands belonging to the Crown of Aragon and even of Navarre, if we take into account the fact that they were associated with the feudal network of the House of Capet in France. However, these discourses and initiatives were also affected by commitments within the Iberian Peninsula, which naturally occupied primacy of place, to the extent that resources for Outremer were halted at times at the end of the thirteenth century, when the needs of the Crown of Aragon were more pressing.

In brief, we can say that there was interest in the operations taking place in the crusader states, as indicated in the motivations that can be reconstructed from the documentary evidence, from the way that kings constructed their own devotional and political images and from the real and "potential" participation of the kings and the military aristocracy. This interest was mediated not only by changes in the way that war was being waged in the western Mediterranean but also by changes in the political dynamics within the Iberian Peninsula and, by extension, by the advent of the new diplomatic scene in the thirteenth century.

Notes

- 1 José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España* (Vitoria, 1958). Carlos Ayala Martínez and Francisco García Fitz reflect on the relationship between Reconquest and Crusade in the last two decades, as presented in Manuel Rodríguez, "Reconquista y cruzada. Un balance historiográfico doce años después (2000–2012)," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 26 (2013): 365–94. It is also worth noting the contribution by Ana Rodríguez, "Remembering the Crusades while living the Reconquest: Iberia, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries," in *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading*, ed. Megan Cassidy-Welch (New York, 2016), 202–15.
- 2 Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, órdenes religiosas y militares. Gran Priorato de Cataluña (hereafter ACA, GPC), folder or c. 6, 139, 122, 138, 136; c. 7, 215; c. 8, 268, 287, etc.
- 3 ACA, GPC, c. 10, 400.
- 4 *Diplomatari d'Alguair i del seu monestir duple de l'orde de Sant Joan de Jerusalem (1245–1300)*, ed. Jesús Alturo (Barcelona, 2010), 9 (1246) and similarly ACA, GPC c. 5, 83 (1247).
- 5 *Diplomatari d'Alguair*, 9; *Colección diplomática de la Almunia de Doña Godina 1176–1395*, ed. Ángel Canellas (Zaragoza, 1962), 22, 24, 28, 45; ACA, GPC, c. 5, 83 and c. 10, 392.
- 6 ACA, GPC, c. 1: 3, 4, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, among others.
- 7 Santos García Larragueta, *El gran priorado de Navarra de la orden de San Juan de Jerusalem. Siglos XII–XIII. II Colección diplomática* (Pamplona, 1957), 130, 136, 158, 161, 164, 177, 196, 200, 208, 228, 233, 248.
- 8 García Larragueta, *El gran priorado de Navarra*, 126, 152, 252, 418, 498, 520.

- 9 Martín de Riquer, "La leyenda de la infanta Doña Sancha, hija de Don Jaime el Conquistador" in *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa* (Barcelona, 1956), 2: 299–41, at 229–30.
- 10 James I expressed himself along these lines in 1221, when he granted privileges to the Hospitallers in the Crown of Aragon, *Cart Hosp*, 2: 303, no. 1749.
- 11 Laureà Pagarolas, *Els templers de les Terres de l'Ebre (Tortosa). De Jaume I a l'abolició del Temple (1213–1312)* (Tarragona, 1999), 2: 17, 75, 78, 89.
- 12 Laureà Pagarolas, *Els templers de les Terres de l'Ebre*, 2, 47, 62, 71, 72.
- 13 Alan J. Forey, *The Templars in the "Corona de Aragón"* (London, 1973), illustrative documents, 22.
- 14 José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, 187–91.
- 15 Montserrat Pagès i Paretas, *Pintura mural sagrada i profana, del romànic al primer gòtic* (Barcelona, 2012), 114–18.
- 16 Forey, *The Templars*, p. 319, 326–27. and Maria Bonet, "The Identity of Hospitallers in the Crown of Aragon and Economics (XII–XIII Centuries)" in *The Templars, the Hospitallers and the Crusades: Essays in homage to Alan J. Forey*, eds. Helen J. Nicholson and J. Burgdorf (London and New York, 2020), 41–57 at 56–57.
- 17 *Cart Hosp*, 3: 555, 623, nos. 4081 and 4223. Pope Clement V ordered the King of Aragon not to stop sending the supplies directed to the Master of Hospital, *Cart Hosp*, 4: 212–13, no. 4860.
- 18 *Acta Aragonensia. Quellen zur Deutschen, Italienischen, Französischen, Spanischen zur Kirchen und Kulturgeschichte aus der Diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II (1291–1327)*, Bd. 3, ed. Heinrich Finke (Aalen, 1966), 5 (1290).
- 19 *Cart Hosp*, 4: 226, no. 4883.
- 20 Judith Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East* (Woodbridge, 2005), 99–101 and "La organización internacional de la orden del Hospital. Algunas reflexiones sobre la contribución de los prioratos ibéricos a la orden en Tierra Santa," in *La orden de San Juan entre el Mediterráneo y la Mancha. II Congreso internacional de la orden militar de San Juan*, eds. Francisco Ruiz Gómez and Jesús Molero García (Alcázar de San Juan, 2009), 39–52 at 49–52.
- 21 Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, Oxford, and Victoria, 2006), 108.
- 22 Ramon Llull, "Liber de passagio," in *Raimundi Lulli opera latina*, XXVIII/52, eds. Blanca Garí and Fernando Domínguez (Turnhout, 2003), 257–353.
- 23 Sebastià Garcías Palou, "Sobre la identificació del «llibre del passatge»," *Estudios Iulianos* 16 (1972): 216–30, at 225. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of Saint John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c. 1050–1310* (London, 1967), 203 and Alan Forey, *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Century* (London, 1992), 217–20.
- 24 Gabriel Ensenyat, "Pacifism and Crusade in Ramon Llull," *Quaderns de la Mediterrània* 9 (2008): 137–44, at 141.
- 25 Jordi Ventura, *Pere el Catòlic i Simó de Montfort. La veritat sobre la croada albigesa i la fi del somni occitano-català* (Barcelona, 1960), 66 and Damian J. Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon: The Limits of Papal Authority* (Aldershot, 2004), 72.
- 26 *Pedro el Católico, Rey de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona (1196–1213). Documentos, Testimonios y Memoria Histórica*, ed. Martín Alvira Cabrer (Zaragoza, 2010), 2: 749.
- 27 Luis Javier Fortún, "Del reino de Pamplona al reino de Navarra (1134–1217)," in *Historia de España Ramón Menéndez Pidal. IX. La reconquista y el proceso de diferenciación política (1035–1217)* (Madrid, 1998), 641–46.
- 28 Juan Manuel, *El Libro de los enxiemplos del conde Lucanor et de Patronio*, eds. Hermann Knust and Adolf Birch-Hirschfeld (Leipzig, 1900, reimpr. Ann Arbor, UMI, 1985), 195 and 307. Agustín Ubieto Arteta, "¿Asistió Sancho el Fuerte a la tercera cruzada?," *Príncipe de Viana* 31 (1970): 171–79.
- 29 Luis Javier Fortún, *Sancho VII el Fuerte (1194–1234)* (Pamplona, 1986), 217–44 and 279–83.
- 30 Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols. (London and Oxford, 1870), 3: 90–92.

- 31 García Larragueta, *El gran priorado de Navarra*, 73.
- 32 José María Jimeno Jurío and Roldán Jimeno Aranguren, *Archivo General de Navarra (1194–1234)* (San Sebastián, 1998), 11, 17, 18.
- 33 Francisco García Fitz and Feliciano Novoa Portela, *Cruzados en la Reconquista* (Madrid, 2014), 121–23.
- 34 Damian J. Smith, “The Papacy, the Spanish Kingdoms and Las Navas de Tolosa,” *Anuario de historia de la Iglesia* 20 (2011): 157–78 at 171.
- 35 Ángel J. Martín Duque and Luis Javier Fortún, “Relaciones financieras entre Sancho el Fuerte de Navarra y los monarcas de Aragón,” in *Jaime I y su época* (Zaragoza, 1979), 3: 171–81.
- 36 Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, 99–116 and Smith, “The Papacy, the Spanish Kingdoms,” 176.
- 37 Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de los hechos de España*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde (Madrid, 1989), 315.
- 38 José Crutxaga y Purroy, *Teobaldo I* (Pamplona, 1986), 105–79; Michael Lower, “The burning at Mont-Aime: Thibaut of Champagne’s preparations for the Barons’ Crusade of 1239,” *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): 95–108 and Lower, *The Barons’ Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences* (Philadelphia, 2005).
- 39 Raquel García Arancón, *Teobaldo II* (Pamplona, 1986), 190–212.
- 40 García Larragueta, *El gran priorado de Navarra*, 304.
- 41 It is probable to affirm that the kings did not consider seriously the option of a crusade after 1250 apart from Louis IX, Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders (1128–1291)* (Leicester, 1995), 34.
- 42 Ana Rodríguez, “Remembering the Crusades while Living the Reconquest,” 202.
- 43 Francesc Carreras Candi, “La creuada a Terra Santa (1269–1270),” in *Primer Congrés d’Història de la Corona d’Aragó dedicat al Rey en Jaume I y a la seua època* (Barcelona, 1909), 106–38, at 110 and 119–22. Steven Runciman, *The History of the Crusades: Volum III. The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge, 1995), 332.
- 44 Peter Jackson, “Hülegü Khan and the Christians: The Making of a Myth,” in *The Experience of Crusading. 2. Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, eds. Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips (Cambridge, 2003), 196–213 at 197–98.
- 45 Ernest Marcos, “Els Catalans i l’Imperi bizanti,” in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l’edat Mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona, 2003), 23–51 at 40–41.
- 46 Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, “Panorama general de les relacions internacionals de Jaume I. Les relacions amb Itàlia,” in *Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona, 2011), 1: 387–427, at 413–14 and Ernest Marcos Hierro, “La croada a Terra Santa de 1269 i la política internacional de Jaume I,” in *Commemoració del VIII*: 1: 509–53, at 511.
- 47 *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV*, ed. August Potthast (Graz, 1957), 19695.
- 48 Reinholt Röhrich, “Der Kreuzzug des Königs Jacob I von Aragonien (1269),” *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* 11 (1890): 372–95 and Carreras, “La creuada.”
- 49 Linda Paterson, “James the Conqueror, the Holy Land and the Troubadors,” *Cultura Neolatina*, LXX, 3–4 (2011): 211–89 at 212.
- 50 Martín de Riquer, *Los trovadores. Historia literaria y textos*, III (Barcelona, 1975), 1473–75 and Paterson, “James the Conqueror,” 230–38 at 238.
- 51 *Les quatre grans cròniques. I. Llibre dels feits del rei En Jaume*, eds. Ferran Solevila, Jordi Bruguera, and Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona, 2008), chapters or ch. 482–90.
- 52 Runciman, *The History*: 331 and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades* (London, 2005), 209–10.
- 53 *Llibre dels feits*, ch. 487–88 and 492. Damian Smith, “Guerra Santa y Tierra Santa en el pensamiento y la acción de Jaime I de Aragón,” in *Regards croisés sur la guerre sainte*.

- Guerre, religion et idéologie dans l'espace méditerranéen latin du XI^e au XIII^e siècle*, eds. Daniel Baloup and Philippe Josserand (Toulouse, 2006), 305–21.
- 54 *Regesta de letras pontificias del archivo de la Corona de Aragón. Sección Cancillería Real (Pergaminos)*, ed. Francisco José Miquel Rosell (Madrid, 1948), 154, 155, 164. In some cases, the Pope responded to specific military activities in the Spanish territories, *Documentación pontificia de Honorio III (1216–1227)*, ed. Demetrio Mansilla (Rome, 1965), 95, 96.
 - 55 *Llibre dels feits*, ch. 523–35.
 - 56 Mansi, *Concilia*, 134–35, no. 24. J.B. Martín, *Conciles et bullaire du diocèse de Lyon: des origines à la réunion du Lyonnais à la France en 1312* (Lyon, 1905), 423. This author refers to a call to crusade by Gregory X in the Council, but only from the *Llibre dels feits* and Catalan modern sources. The Council left only a conciliar decree on the crusade, conserved only in a fragmentary form, Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992), p. 12.
 - 57 *Llibre dels feits*, ch. 535.
 - 58 The Chronicle was a political book rather than an autobiography: Raquel Homet, “Caracteres de lo político en el Llibre dels Fets de Jaime el Conqueridor,” *Res Gesta* 32 (1993): 171–94, Robert I. Burns, “The Spiritual Life of James I the Conqueror, King of Aragon-Catalonia, 1208–1276: Portrait and Self-portrait,” *Catholic Historical Review* 62 (1976): 1–35 and Jaume Aurell “La chronique de Jacques Ier, une fiction autobiographique. Auteur, auctorialité et autorité au Moyen Âge,” *Annales. Histoire Sciences Sociales* 2 (2008): 301–18.
 - 59 James I had in fact received a pontifical demand to undertake a crusade “to liberate the Holy Land.” See *La documentación pontificia de Inocencio IV (1243–1254)*, ed. Augusto Quintana Prieto (Roma, 1987), 25.
 - 60 Miriam Cabré, “Trobadors i cultura trobadoresca,” in *Commemoració del VIII*: 1: 921–38, at 925–26 and Marcos, “La croada,” 509.
 - 61 His crusade to Jerusalem constituted a peak in his demonstration of loyalty to his ideals of chivalry and honour, José Luis Villacañas, *Jaume I el Conqueridor* (Madrid, 2004), 658–59.
 - 62 Suzanne F. Cawsey, *Reialesa i propaganda. L'eloqüència reial i la Corona d'Aragó c.1200–1450* (Valencia, 2008), 24.
 - 63 Marcos, “La croada,” 510.
 - 64 Röhricht, “Der Kreuzzug,” 381–94 and Carreras, “La creuada,” 123–38.
 - 65 Fermín Miranda, “Intereses cruzados de la monarquía navarra en el siglo XIII (1194–1276),” in *Fernando III. Tiempo de cruzada*, eds. Carlos de Ayala Martínez and Martín Federico Ríos Saloma (Madrid, 2012), 325–49.
 - 66 Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1970), 2: 266–96.
 - 67 José Goñi Gaztambide, “Regesta de las bulas de los archivos navarros (1198–1417),” *Anthologica Annua* 10 (1962): 58–66, 69, 75–77, 83.
 - 68 Miika Tamminen, *Crusade Preaching and the Ideal Crusader* (Turnhout, 2018), 256–57.
 - 69 Henry Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne* 6 vols. (Paris, 1865), 4: 410–14.
 - 70 See note 67.
 - 71 Lower, *The Barons' Crusade*, 158–76.
 - 72 García Arancón, *Teobaldo II*, 212–14.
 - 73 Román Felones Morrás, “Contribución al estudio de la Iglesia del siglo XIII: el libro del Rediezmo de 1268 (I). Estudio y valoración,” *Príncipe de Viana* 43 (1982): 129–10 and “Contribución al estudio de la iglesia navarra del siglo XIII: el libro del rediezmo de 1268. (Y II), transcripción e índices,” *Príncipe de Viana* 43 (1982): 623–714.
 - 74 Felones Morrás, “Contribución al estudio,” 143. This is in line with the idea that very few Spaniards fought in the Latin East, Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 108.

- 75 Jochen Burgdorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars. History, Organization and Personnel (1099/1120)* (Leiden and Boston, 2008), 486–88 and 615. Berenguer de Cardona visited Cyprus during his term as provincial master, Forey, *The Templars*, 314.
- 76 Burgdorf, *The Central*, 556.
- 77 In 1283, a royal permit and protection was given to the Hospitallers for sailing to the Holy Land, responding to *ad preces Ultramaris*, ACA, Registro de Cancillería, 60, f. 53 r-v. Years later, the Hospitaller Master wrote to the King of Aragon complaining about the lack of help and informing him that the Prior of Catalonia or Castellan de Amposta would explain the difficulties that the Crusader states were suffering, *Cart Hosp*, 3: 560–61, no. 4090. King Alphonse III recognised the Master's knowledge regarding: *malis ac dampnis Terre Sancte illatis per inimicos fidei*, see note 19. In 1290, Berenguer de Vilagut informed the King of Sicily, James, that the Sultan was already preparing the siege of Acre, *Acta Aragonensia*. Band 3 (Aalen, 1966), 6: 11–12.
- 78 Ramon Llull, *Darrer llibre sobre la conquesta de Terra Santa (Liber de Fine)*, trans. Pere Llabrés and ed. Jordi Gayà (Barcelona, 2002) and Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches towards Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), 196.

18 The Babenberg Dukes of Austria – crusaders “par excellence”

Miha Kosi

During the Fifth Crusade, in April 1219, before his return to Europe, Duke Leopold VI of Austria bestowed on the Knights Templar 50 marks of gold to build their new castle (*castro Templariorum novo*), as reported by Oliver of Paderborn, himself a witness and participant.¹ It was the future ‘Atlit (Château Pèlerin), one of the most important Templar forts in Palestine.² However, this was not the duke’s only investment in defending the Holy Land, since it was already in the spring of 1218 that he participated in fortifying the castle at Caesarea together with the Knights Hospitaller and he donated six thousand marks of silver to the Teutonic order for their new centre, the future Montfort Castle in Galilee.³ These were no small expenses. Besides, according to Oliver of Paderborn, the duke “fought faithfully for Christ, with utmost devotion, humility, obedience, and generosity.”⁴ Obviously, Leopold met with an extremely favourable – and likely well deserved – reception in the sources of ecclesiastical provenance. Indeed, by the Fifth Crusade he had already earned a considerable reputation as a devout crusader. He took the Cross as early as 1208, joined the Albigensian Crusade in 1212,⁵ and also participated in the fighting against the Muslims in Spain in the summer of that same year.⁶ Whereas his distinguished role in spearheading the Fifth Crusade between 1217 and 1219 looms large in multiple accounts that picture him as one of the most prominent leaders.⁷ The following lines will shed more light on Leopold’s family and its crusading activities, which are not so widely known.⁸ Last but not least, given their very close ties to some prominent figures in the history of the Crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Babenbergs of Austria may have had more influence as hitherto assumed.

During the time of Duke Leopold VI (1198–1230), the Babenberg territories in the southeast of the Holy Roman Empire were at the height of their development so far comprising not only Austria but also the Duchy of Styria, which Leopold’s father inherited in 1192 from his relative, Duke Otakar IV, the last in his line.⁹ The political situation in his territories was stable, Leopold’s rule undisputed, and the land enjoyed a period of high prosperity.¹⁰ The duke himself was regarded by his contemporaries as *Leupoldus dux Austrie gloriosus*¹¹ and he frequently disposed of enormous amounts of money (5000–6000 marks in silver).¹² The dynasty’s wealth had already been known far and wide, as was also attested by French poet Chrétien der Troyes himself. In his romance *Yvain*, written between 1170/80 for Marie of

France, Countess of Champagne (the daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine), he wrote of a coverlet so precious "that not even the Duke of Austria owned."¹³ Esteem and wealth are best reflected in the marriage connections of different members of the family, with Duke Leopold VI being married (1203) to none other than Princess Theodora, the granddaughter of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios III Angelos.¹⁴

However, the prestige of the Babenberg family among the German nobility reached further back, into the tenth century, when Leopold's ancestors ranked among the Bavarian elite and rose to the highest circles of the imperial nobility one century later. Yet the real turning point in the dynasty's ascent came around 1105, with the marriage of Margrave Leopold III of Austria (1095–1136) to Agnes, the daughter of Emperor Henry IV and the widow of Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia. She bore the name of her grandmother, Agnes of Poitou – the aunt of the great troubadour William IX of Aquitaine. Besides this being an esteemed relation, and a fruitful marriage having produced six sons and five daughters, it established for the Babenbergs also kinship ties with yet another ruling family – the Hohenstaufen of Swabia, with the children being the half-brothers and half-sisters of the future German King Conrad III.¹⁵ In the mid-twelfth century, the family thus integrated itself into the German nobility of that time in a most extraordinary way. The siblings included the famous historian, Bishop Otto of Freising and Conrad, archbishop of Salzburg, whereas others were married to the courts of Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Byzantium, and Montferrat.¹⁶ Their prestige reached its peak when two brothers, Leopold IV and Henry II, obtained the position of Duke of Bavaria (1139–1141 and 1143–1156, respectively), one of the most eminent among German principalities. This was primarily the act of their half-brother, King Conrad III, aimed against his main rivals in the empire – the Welfs of Bavaria and Saxony, as the Babenberg kinsmen were at the time the king's strongest allies in the empire.¹⁷ Therefore, it was only natural that Duke Henry II and Otto of Freising, along with a multitude of Bavarian nobles, took the Cross when the king held court at Regensburg in February 1147 during the recruitment for the Second Crusade. Among other distinguished crusaders were Duke Welf VI, young duke and future Emperor Frederick of Swabia, Wladislaus, Duke of Bohemia, Margraves Otakar III of Styria, William of Montferrat, and Count Bernhard of Carinthia.¹⁸ They were all closely related, which is important to understand the "mechanisms" of participation and leadership of the expedition. Wladislaus and William were the brothers-in-law of the Babenbergs, Otakar and Frederick were their nephews, Welf VI was Frederick's uncle, Otakar his maternal cousin,¹⁹ and Count Bernhard was Otakar's uncle.²⁰ However, the participation of the Babenberg family in the Second Crusade was not their first crusading enterprise. Curiously, it was a female member, their grandmother Ita, who had joined the ill-fated expedition of 1101 in the company of Duke Welf IV of Bavaria and Thiemo, archbishop of Salzburg. As a legend has it, she was taken prisoner by the Muslims and became the future mother of Imad ad-Din Zengi.²¹

Nevertheless, the rise of the Babenberg's family's international prestige crucially rested on the Second Crusade, during which they forged a marriage connection with the Byzantine court. King Conrad and Emperor John Comnenus

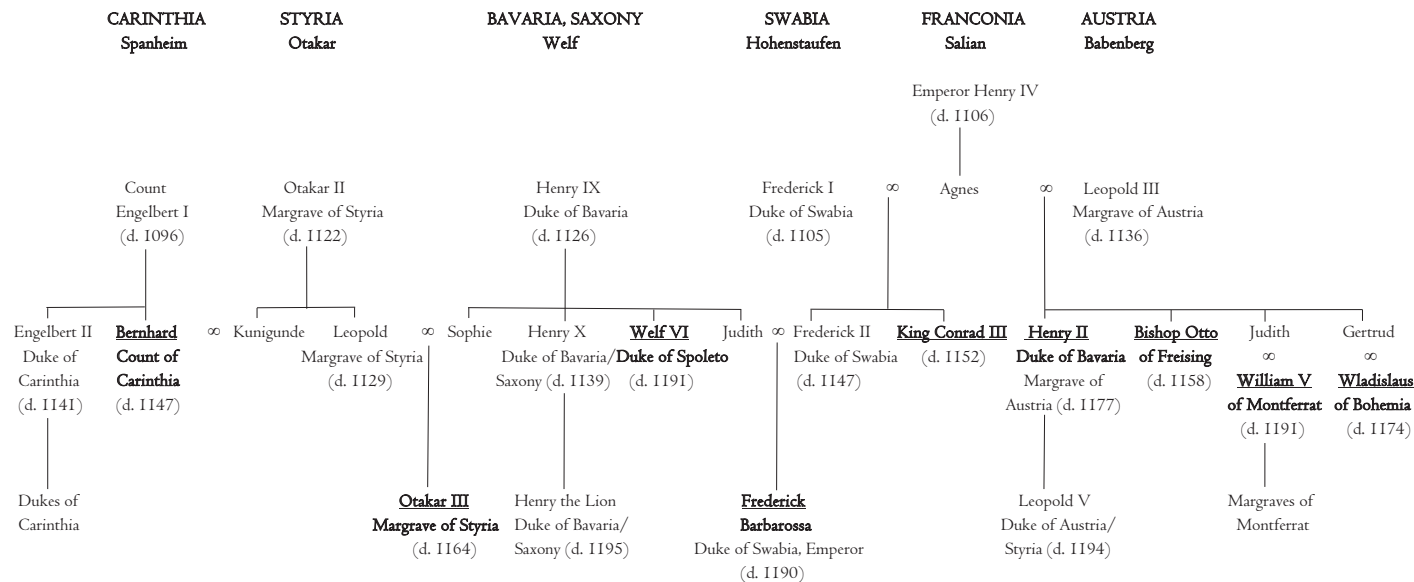


Figure 18.1 Relations between principal German participants on the Second Crusade 1147–1149 (crusaders underlined)

had already maintained sound diplomatic relations since 1142, when Bertha of Sulzbach, the sister of Queen Gertrud, was sent to Constantinople to marry the emperor's youngest son Manuel (she was to become Empress Irene in 1146).²² Another marriage connection between Conrad's half-brother Henry II of Babenberg and the Byzantine Princess Theodora, the niece of Emperor Manuel, was to strengthen the alliance between the East and the West even further. The marriage was most likely negotiated in Constantinople before March 1148, when Conrad with his closest companions set sail to the Holy Land.²³ On 24 June 1148, the crusading armies held a general assembly at Palmarea near Acre. In his record on the magnificent occasion – a meeting of the most important individuals yet to gather in the history of the Latin East, as Jonathan Phillips put it – William of Tyre, a witness himself, did not fail to mention Duke Henry II of Austria as the leading secular nobleman in the company of King Conrad (*Henricus dux Austriae, ejusdem imperatoris frater*).²⁴ He remained in the king's retinue for the entire duration of the campaign and in the spring of 1149 returned with him by sea to the West, most likely together with his new wife Theodora Comnena.²⁵

The Byzantine imperial connection proved to be of vital importance for the reputation and diplomatic role that the Austrian dukes were to play in the future. In 1156, the new Emperor Frederick Barbarossa took the first step in his "reconstruction" of the Empire by settling the long-lasting dispute between the dukes Henry the Lion and Henry II of Babenberg over the duchy of Bavaria, whereby the latter renounced his claim and in return was granted the elevation of the March of Austria to a duchy with *Privilegium minus*. Significantly, being bestowed jointly upon Henry and his *praenobilissima uxor* Theodora, the new duchy was a concession to the Comneni as well.²⁶ Theodora (d. 1182/83), who bore Duke

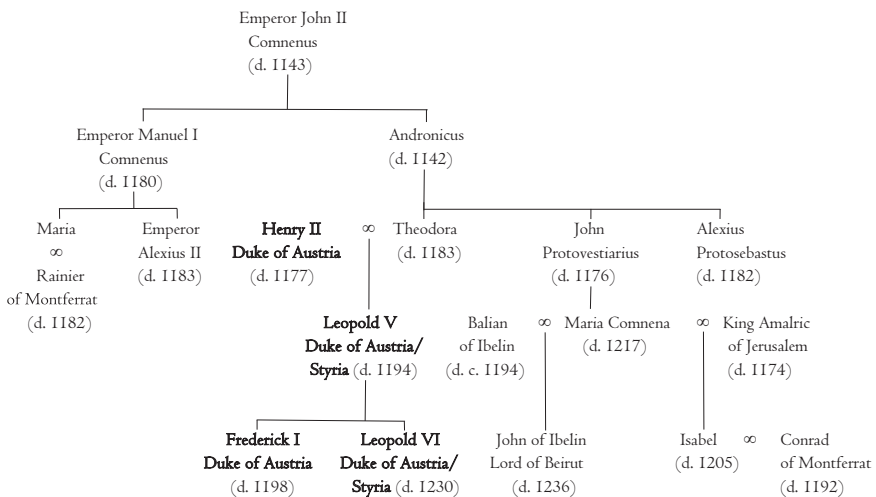


Figure 18.2 Relations of the Dukes of Austria to the courts of Byzantium, Jerusalem, and the Ibelins

Henry two sons and a daughter, also played a diplomatic role herself. In 1150/51, she visited the Byzantine court in Constantinople and in 1166 was together with Duke Henry on Barbarossa's diplomatic mission to Emperor Manuel in Serdica (Sofia).²⁷ But most importantly, the immediate kinship to the Byzantine court also put the Dukes of Austria in relation to the court in Jerusalem and one of the leading noble families of the kingdom – the Ibelins. In 1167, Theodora's niece, Maria Comnena, married Amalric, the King of Jerusalem, and after his death, in 1177, Balian of Ibelin.²⁸ The future Duke of Austria Leopold V (1177–1194) was therefore the first cousin of the dowager-queen of Jerusalem and a close relative of the Ibelins, which is important to understand the background of the Babenbergs' future involvement in the East, as will be seen later on.

The second connection linking the Dukes of Austria to Eastern politics was their relation to the prominent crusading family of the Margraves of Montferrat. Judith, the sister of Duke Henry II of Austria, was married to Margrave William V "The Old" of Montferrat, one of the most trusted supporters of King Conrad and later of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. He was the uncle of the French King Louis VII and via his marriage also of Frederick Barbarossa, which clearly accorded him preeminent prestige among the nobles from the Italian part of the empire. This was not overlooked by William of Tyre in his account of the gathering at Palmarea in 1148, where he names William as the brother-in-law of King Conrad.²⁹ The exceptional background enabled four of William's sons – the first cousins of Duke Leopold V of Austria – to play distinguished roles in the crusading history. The eldest, William Longsword, was in 1176 invited to the Levant by the leper King of Jerusalem Baldwin IV, and the nobility of the realm, to marry the king's sister Sybil, and settle the issue regarding the succession to the throne. Although he died a year later, he produced a posthumously born son, Baldwin, an heir-presumptive to the kingdom.³⁰ The Duke of Austria was therefore the uncle of the future King Baldwin V (crowned in 1183) and at the same time of Isabel, future queen, the half-sister of Baldwin IV (her mother Maria Comnena was Leopold's cousin). And there was another member of the Montferrat clan and Leopold's closest kin, who was destined for a marriage of high honour. Rainier, the youngest of Margrave William's sons married, in 1180, Emperor Manuel's only daughter Maria, an event which William of Tyre witnessed himself in Constantinople early in 1180.³¹

Therefore, when Duke Leopold V of Austria decided to travel to the East in 1182, he by no means went into an unknown world but into one of his close relatives.³² Already as a fifteen-year old, in 1172 he witnessed the splendid Palestine pilgrimage of Duke Henry the Lion, who travelled with a great retinue across Austria and stopped in Vienna as well.³³ The prince took with him his nephew Otakar IV, Margrave of Styria – still a minor – who was also Leopold's relative.³⁴ As this could have been one of his early motives, the duke likely also responded to the new call for a Crusade issued by Pope Aleksander III on 16 January 1181.³⁵ This may imply that he was the only known western prince to crusade to the Holy Land in 1182, a fact that has so far received little attention in historiography.³⁶ The main argument in its favour is that, according to the annals of Melk, the duke *cum magno comitatu Hierosolimam proficiscitur*, where he spent the greater part

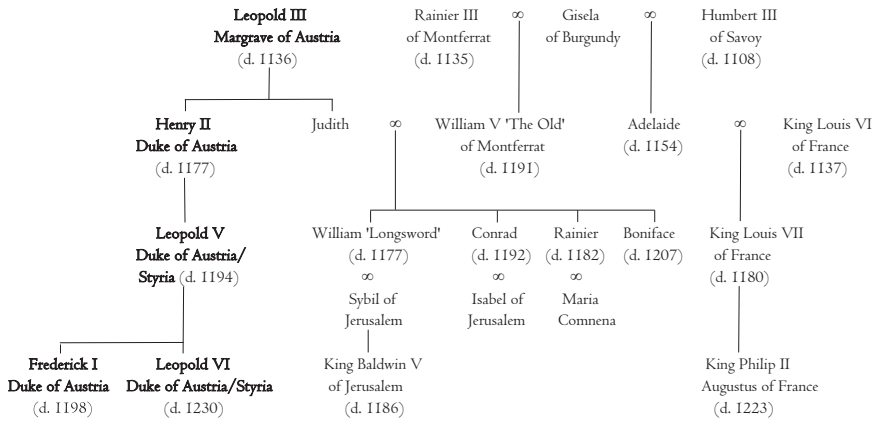


Figure 18.3 Relations of the Dukes of Austria to the Margraves of Montferrat

of the year.³⁷ Hence it was likely a military involvement, albeit on a limited scale, and not merely a simple pilgrimage affair. Also the duke's age – 25 years – would suggest more a wish for a crusading adventure rather than a pious pilgrimage. And 1182 was definitely “the year of living dangerously” for the Levant again, with Saladin launching his offensive from Egypt in May.³⁸ Leopold, who started his expedition from Austria by land in February 1182, was accompanied across Hungary by King Bela III, his brother-in-law,³⁹ and received in Byzantium “with honours” by the young Emperor Alexius II (his uncle).⁴⁰ He barely avoided the riots and the outburst of the anti-Latin sentiment in Constantinople, which in late spring resulted in a massacre of most westerners. The ensuing political overthrow also claimed the lives of his relatives Rainier of Montferrat and Princess Maria Comnena, and soon afterwards the life of the young Emperor Alexios II as well.⁴¹ Leopold was therefore present in the Holy Land from the late spring of 1182 or early summer at the latest, with the annals of Zwettl suggesting that he was *toto anno illo moratus Ierosolimis*. As he travelled home by sea to Apulia and reached Austria about Christmas 1182, he obviously sailed from Palestine during the autumn “passage” (possibly in October).⁴² This would suggest that he was present in all the decisive events of that summer in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. There were people of the “highest profile” he was closely related to: dowager-queen Maria, her husband Balian of Ibelin, and Baldwin V, the heir-presumptive to the crown. Both Balian and his brother Baldwin were present in the king's army, which defeated Saladin at Le Forbelet on 15 July 1182, and their actions were explicitly praised by William of Tyre.⁴³ One month later, in August, King Baldwin also managed to save Beirut from the siege of Saladin.⁴⁴ It seems reasonable to assume that the young Duke of Austria could have taken part in these events, happening during his stay in the Holy Land. Especially if we take into consideration that his primary goal could actually have been crusading in response to papal call

from the previous January. Moreover, his kinsmen – the Balian – were involved in the fighting, which undoubtedly could have posed a strong motive for the duke to do the same. And there is also a circumstantial argument. Leopold brought home a portion of the Holy Cross, supposedly as big as a hand, and donated it to the family monastery of Heiligenkreuz in Austria.⁴⁵ This most venerated relic of the kingdom was carried into the Battle of Le Forbelet that summer,⁴⁶ as well as later to Hattin. If the duke was able to obtain a piece of it, it seems reasonable to conclude, that his visit in the summer of 1182 must have been on a considerably “high level.” After all, previously on his trip he had already been personally welcomed by the King of Hungary and Byzantine emperor. Therefore, it is highly probable that Leopold participated in the events of the summer of 1182 along with the noble elite of *Outremer*. Unfortunately, no record of his visit is known so far from the sources originating from the Holy Land itself.

When Duke Leopold V joined the Third Crusade a decade later, he was already a seasoned leader and a prince of high esteem. Last but not least, he was the emperor’s cousin. He came to the Levant for the second time⁴⁷ and was no stranger to the land and its people. His relations with the East, especially Byzantium, were undoubtedly of value for Barbarossa. When the envoys from Constantinople and Sultan of Iconium arrived in Nuremberg at the end of 1188, it was Leopold who swore on the emperor’s behalf with two other princes that the planned expedition would not be directed against them.⁴⁸ Moreover, at the end of 1188, Ermengol of Aspa, Provisor of Hospitallers sent a personal letter to the Duke of Austria – *illustrissimo domno et benefactori suo* – describing the conditions after Saladin’s invasion of Antioch, a gesture that clearly testifies to his esteem in the East.⁴⁹ Leopold could not join Barbarossa’s crusaders crossing Austria in 1189 because of the disputes with Hungary, aroused by his anticipated inheritance of the duchy of Styria, following the agreement of 1186. But he nonetheless took measures to supply and escort the crusading army to the border.⁵⁰ He finally departed for the Crusade in August 1190 from Venice, but the poor weather conditions in the Adriatic forced him to spend the winter in Zara, Dalmatia.⁵¹ When he finally landed in Acre in the spring of the following year, the political situation in the kingdom had completely changed. His cousin Conrad of Montferrat was married to heiress to the throne, Isabel, Leopold’s own niece and Balian of Ibelin’s step-daughter.⁵² The duke was no longer merely one of crusaders, with the internal politics of the realm likely becoming a matter of utmost personal involvement. And the prospects were good. The most influential persons were his closest relatives – the heirs presumptive to the throne Conrad and Isabel, dowager-queen Maria and her husband Balian (between the autumn 1190 and Conrad’s death in April 1192 one of his leading supporters).⁵³ And there was yet another dimension to it. The Duke of Austria was the most prominent German prince in the land. With only the remnants of the German army reached Acre by land in October 1190 and Emperor Frederick dead, once he landed, Leopold found himself in the role of the leader of the German contingent and as such took part in the siege of Acre before the arrival of the kings of France and England.⁵⁴ Considering all this, he could have justifiably expected to play an influential role, which, at first at least, was indeed

acknowledged to him. In a privilege for the Venetians issued at Acre on 7 May 1191, Conrad used for the first time the title *rex electus* with the consent of the key leaders present: King Philip of France, Philip of Flanders, Ralph of Clermont, Hugh of Burgundy, and Leopold of Austria.⁵⁵ And Conrad was actually a close relative of King Philip as well as of Leopold.⁵⁶ But matters took a turn for the worse and the division among the forces between the parties of Conrad and Guy of Lusignan deepened with the arrival of King Richard of England in early June. Even so, when Acre capitulated on 12 July, some German sources still considered the victory to be a success of three equal leaders, both kings and the Duke of Austria.⁵⁷ Leopold also raised his banner in the city, but was gravely insulted by Richard's men and the spoils were divided between the two kings alone, after which the duke soon set sail for home. The stage for the notorious capture of King Richard the following year was thus set, with the situation becoming even more strained by the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat in April 1192, the blame for which was placed on Richard.⁵⁸ Leopold's personal involvement in the politics of *Outremer* at that time is well attested by a letter to the duke that the leader of the assassins allegedly wrote himself, clearing Richard of all suspicions.⁵⁹ Although Leopold did not lack esteem or outstanding connections in the kingdom, with a decimated German contingent, he definitely lacked military strength and financial resources to support his ambitions. This was also clear to an anonymous chronicler of *Gesta Friderici* who remarked that the duke *non ita gloriose sicut decebat ibi manserit*.⁶⁰

Duke Leopold V, having survived two expeditions to the Holy Land, paradoxically died at home in a riding accident soon after Christmas 1194. He left two sons – Frederick succeeding him in Austria and Leopold VI in Styria. Already at the end of the next year, another crusade was in sight, under the leadership of Emperor Henry VI.⁶¹ This was a much more serious and considerable crusading endeavour as usually presented,⁶² and Otto of Saint Blasien even called it *tercia expedicio transmarina*.⁶³ At a diet held at Worms in December 1195, the young Duke Frederick of Austria, his cousin, Duke Ulrich II of Carinthia, and a number of other princes and counts from the southeast of the empire took the Cross as well.⁶⁴ In July–August 1197, we find him with his uncle Henry of Mödling⁶⁵ in the emperor's army in Sicily, preparing for the Crusade. Frederick embarked for the Holy Land in September, while the emperor stayed behind due to illness (he died on 28 September). Nothing is known about the size of the duke's contingent and his role during the campaign. However, Frederick must have been one of the more distinguished participants, given that he was present in the company of all the leading crusaders in the house of the Templars at Acre in early March 1198, when the Teutonic order was transformed into a military order. The duke was listed second among the German lay princes, immediately after Henry, the son of Duke Henry the Lion. It is worth noting that among the *baronum terre* present was also John of Ibelin, the son of Balian, a cousin of the Duke of Austria.⁶⁶ Frederick died soon after on his homebound journey – *in reversione itineris Ierosolimitani*.⁶⁷ His presence during the militarisation of Teutonic order was more than just symbolic. The Dukes of Austria were some of the first patrons of the order in the

empire, as well as of the other military orders. The Teutonic Knights were present in Vienna already around 1200,⁶⁸ while the Hospitallers' possessions in Austria can be traced back to before 1156.⁶⁹ There is even a hint that the Templars had possessions in Vienna from the time of Duke Leopold V in 1186 at the location of the future Dominican convent.⁷⁰

Duke Frederick was succeeded in Austria by his brother Leopold VI (1198–1230), who brought the greatest fame to his dynasty as well as to his country. Married from 1203 to Theodora from the Byzantine imperial dynasty of Angeli,⁷¹ he had shown interest in the affairs of the East even before he participated in the Fifth Crusade. This is evident from his envois (*nunciis ducis Austrie*) who, together with the Grand Master of the Teutonic order Hermann of Salza, in 1211 accompanied Wilbrand of Oldenburg on the mission of Emperor Otto IV to the King of Armenia.⁷² Leopold's famous deeds in the Fifth Crusade have already been mentioned before, but he also took an active part in the preparation of Emperor Frederick's II Crusade in the third decade of the thirteenth century. Along with five other princess from the south of the empire, he proved instrumental in striking an agreement between the pope and the emperor in San Germano in the summer of 1230, where he also died.⁷³ His son Frederick II (1230–1246) no longer showed any interest in crusading to the East, as the contribution of the empire in general was in a steep decline.⁷⁴ Instead, in 1244, he prepared for a crusading expedition to the "new horizons" in Prussia, which started to become popular even at this early date. He did not join it himself in the end, even though he received dispensation from the pope as for a crusade to the Holy Land.⁷⁵ Duke Frederick II – the last in his line – died in 1246, not on a crusade but in a battle with his neighbour and relative, the King of Hungary.

The Babenberg Dukes of Austria ruled an important principality in the south-east of the empire for 270 years and ranked among the imperial elite of the time. As such, they were, in one way or another, involved in the crusading movement from the very beginning. One may only think of the huge masses of the First Crusade crossing Austria in those crucial years and all other crusading armies that over the next century followed in their footsteps. But the members of the dynasty were also personally deeply involved in crusading. They joined all major expeditions and some minor ones to the Holy Land, as well as crusades in Languedoc and Spain. We can justifiably speak of a continuous family tradition that they upheld for almost a century and a half. As attested by many contemporary sources, they often played a prominent role as much in the battlefield as in the diplomatic sphere. Moreover, due to their extensive family relations, they were the most exceptionally connected of all the imperial nobility of the time – from the courts of Central Europe to Byzantium and Jerusalem. Therefore, they might have had more influence on the events as hitherto assumed. Whereas the preserved historical sources mention their role more or less sporadically, we miss extensive chronicles that would provide a deeper insight into their role as, for instance, their more abundant counterparts from Western Europe, which had a much stronger involvement in *Outremer*. Nevertheless, the Babenberg dynasty was undoubtedly one of the very few from the Holy Roman Empire that played

such a prominent role in the crusading movement and can therefore justifiably be called “Crusaders *par excellence*.”

Table 18.1 Participation of the Babenberg Dukes of Austria in the Crusades

Margravine Ita of Austria	the Crusade of 1101
Duke Henry II of Bavaria, Margrave of Austria	the Second Crusade 1147–1149
Bishop Otto of Freising	
Duke Leopold V of Austria	crusade/pilgrimage in 1182
Duke Leopold V of Austria	the Third Crusade 1190–1191
Duke Frederick I of Austria	the Crusade of Emperor Henry VI 1197–1198
Duke Leopold VI of Austria and Styria	Albigensian Crusade and Spain in 1212
Duke Leopold VI of Austria and Styria	the Fifth Crusade 1217–1219

Notes

- 1 Oliver of Paderborn, “*Historia Damiatina*,” in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholars, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina Oliverus*, ed. Hermann Hoogeweg, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 202 (Tübingen, 1894), 159–280, at 162–63; translated as Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, trans. Joseph J. Gavigan, *Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198–1229*, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia, 1991), 49–139, at 78; reprint in *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, eds. Jessalynn Bird et al. (Philadelphia, 2013), 158–225, at 180 (hereafter cited as *Crusade and Christendom*); Heinrich Fichtenau et al., eds., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Babenberger in Österreich*, 4 vols. (Vienna, 1950–97), 4.2:94–95, no. 1044 (hereafter cited as BUB).
- 2 A description of the castle in *Historia Damiatina*, 169–72; *The Capture of Damietta*, 57–58; *Crusade and Christendom*, 164–65; James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1986), 133. On excavations notably the reports by Cedric Norman Johns. See: Johns 1932–37, 1947. All reprinted in Johns, ed. Pringle, 1997. See also Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), 124–27.
- 3 *Historia Damiatina*, 168, 207; *L’Etoile de Eracles empereur et la conquête de la Terre d’Outremer*, RHC Oc, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844–95), 2:1–481, at 325; *Annales Colonienses maximi*, ed. Karl Pertz, MGH SS 17 (Hannover, 1861), 723–847, at 832; BUB 4.2, 88, 93–94, nos. 1038, 1043. On Montfort Walther Hubatsch, “Montfort und die Bildung des Deutschordensstaates im Heiligen Lande,” *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 5 (1966): 161–99, at 183, 186–88; Nicholas Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land, 1190–1291* (Woodbridge, 2009), 23, 154–55; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 129–32; *Montfort: History, Early Research and Recent Studies of the Principal Fortress of the Teutonic Order in the Latin East*, ed. Adrian J. Boas (Leiden, 2017).
- 4 *Historia Damiatina*, 207; *The Capture of Damietta*, 78; *Crusade and Christendom*, 180.
- 5 “facta est expeditio cruce signatorum a duce Austrie et quibusdam terre baronibus . . . in auxilium comiti de Muntforrat ad inpuandum Albienses, qui et Ruptari vel Coterelli, hereticos scilicet de terra Sancti Egidii.” *Annales Marbacenses qui dicuntur*, ed. Hermann Bloch, MGH SS rer. Germ. 9 (Hannover, 1907), 83. After the campaign in Languedoc, Leopold continued to Spain: “quidam cum duce Austriae Lutpoldo ad Hyspaniam contra ethnicos pugnaturi progrediuntur.” *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS rer. Germ. 18 (Hannover, 1880), 233. With other sources collected in BUB 4.2, 46–47, 68–70, nos. 997, 1020.

- 6 Archbishop of Toledo Roderic reported on the meeting with the duke and his sizable army at Calatrava and how Leopold proceeded back in the company of King Peter II of Aragon: “redivimus Calatrauam ibique invenimus ducem Austrie de partibus Theutonie, qui satis in magno venerat apparatu,” BUB 4.2, 69, no. 1020.
- 7 On Leopold’s crusading see Miha Kosi, “The Fifth Crusade and its Aftermath: Crusading in the Southeast of the Holy Roman Empire in the First Decades of the Thirteenth Century,” *Crusades* 17 (2018): 91–113.
- 8 The standard monograph is Karl Lechner, *Die Babenberger: Markgrafen und Herzöge von Österreich 976–1246*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung 23, 6th ed. (Vienna, 1996); more recent Georg Scheibelreiter, *Die Babenberger: Reichfürsten und Landesherren* (Vienna, 2010), hereafter cited as Scheibelreiter.
- 9 Heinz Dopsch, *Die Länder und das Reich: Der Ostalpenraum im Hochmittelalter, Österreichische Geschichte 1122–1278* (Vienna, 1999), 298–302. In 1229, a large part of the March of Carniola was added, which Leopold’s son Frederick II acquired by marriage. Thenceforth he also styled himself *dominus Carniolae*. Idem, 186.
- 10 Maximilian Weltin, “Landesfürst und Adel – Österreichs Werden,” in Dopsch, *Die Länder*, 218–61, at 250–51.
- 11 *Continuatio praedicatorum Vindobonensium*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH SS 9 (Hannover, 1851), 726.
- 12 Weltin, “Landesfürst,” 251.
- 13 “covert d’une coute si riche, qu’ains n’ot tel li dus d’Osteriche.” Citation after Karl Brunner, “Das Privilegium minus und das werdende Land,” in *Die Geburt Österreichs: 850 Jahre Privilegium minus*, eds. Peter Schmid *et al.*, Regensburger Kulturleben 4 (Ratisbon, 2007), 201–10, at 203.
- 14 Andreas Rhoby, “Wer war die ‘zweite’ Theodora von Österreich?: Analyse des Quellenproblems,” in *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik*, eds. Wolfram Hörandner *et al.*, Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia 24 (Vienna, 2004), 387–96; Peter Prokop, “Die ‘zweite österreichische’ Theodora: Die Aussagen des Ladislaus Sunthaym zu ihrer Verwandtschaft und Vermählung,” *Adler, Zeitschrift für Genealogie und Heraldik* 29/8 (2018): 305–31.
- 15 Heide Dienst, *Regionalgeschichte und Gesellschaft im Hochmittelalter am Beispiel Österreichs*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 27 (Vienna, 1990), 46–63; Karl Brunner, *Herzogtümer und Marken: Vom Ungarsturm bis ins 12. Jahrhundert, Österreichische Geschichte 907–1156* (Vienna, 1994), 358–61; Jürgen Dendorfer, “Aus dem Geschlecht König Konrads / De genere regis Cunradi: Die Familie König Konrads III. und die frühen Staufer,” in *Konrad III (1138–1152): Herrscher und das Reich*, Schriften zur staufischen Geschichte und Kunst 30 (Göppingen, 2011), 25–45, at 31–35.
- 16 *Otonis et Rahewini gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS rer. Germ. 46 (Hannover, 1912), 249–50; translated as Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, ed. and trans. Charles Christopher Mierow, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teachings 31 (Toronto, 1994), 246.
- 17 Jürgen Dendorfer, “Von den Babenbergern zu den Welfen: Herzog und Adel in Bayern um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts,” in *München, Bayern und das Reich im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert: Lokale Befunde und überregionale Perspektiven*, eds. Hubertus Seibert *et al.*, Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte, Beiheft 29 (Munich, 2009), 221–47, at 229–46.
- 18 *Gesta Friderici*, 59–61; *The Deeds*, 75–76; Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, 2010), 94–96, 120, 128–29.
- 19 Margrave Otakar III of Styria was the first cousin of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry the Lion – their mothers were sisters. He made a second journey to Jerusalem in 1164 and died in Hungary. MGH SS 9:555.

- 20 Bernhard was a senior member of the Spanheims, Dukes of Carinthia, and he was held in great esteem by Otto of Freising, who called him "Carinthiae illustris comes Bernhardus." *Gesta Friderici*, 59; Dopsch, *Die Länder*, 280, 285, 310, 315–16. He was a part of Otto's ill-fated detachment in Asia Minor and lost his life near Laodicea in December 1147. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York, 1948), 112–13; Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De investigatione Antichristi*, ed. Ernest Sackur, MGH Ldl 3 (Hannover, 1897), 304–95, at 376; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 184.
- 21 *Historia Welforum Weingartensis*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS 21 (Hannover, 1869), 454–71, at 462; Scheibelreiter, 153–55; Brunner, *Herzogtümer und Marken*, 356; Lechner, *Die Babenberger*, 117.
- 22 Jürgen Dendorfer, "Konrad III. und Byzanz," in *Die Staufer und Byzanz*, Schriften zur staufischen Geschichte und Kunst 33 (Göppingen, 2013), 58–73, at 63–67; Jan Paul Niederkorn, "Die Mitgift der Kaiserin Irene: Anmerkungen zur byzantinischen Politik König Konrads III.," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 28 (1986): 125–39, at 126–30; Idem, "Die Bündnisverhandlungen König Konrads III. mit Johannes II. Komnenos," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 51 (2001): 189–98.
- 23 Konrad Josef Heilig, "Ostrom und das Deutsche Reich um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts: Die Erhebung Österreichs zum Herzogtum 1156 und das Bündnis zwischen Byzanz und dem Westreich," in Theodor Mayer et al., *Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter Friedrichs I.*, Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 9 (Stuttgart, 1944), 1–271, at 162–68, 252–58; Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1189* (Cambridge, 1993), 52 n. 93 (hereafter cited as Magdalino); Andreas Rhoby, "Byzanz und 'Österreich' im 12./13. Jahrhundert: Mythos und Realität," in *Knotenpunkt Byzanz: Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen*, eds. Andreas Speer et al., *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 36 (Berlin, 2012), 589–610, at 590–91; Helmut Hanko, *Heinrich II. Jasomirgott: Pfalzgraf bei Rhein – Herzog von Bayern – Herzog von Österreich* (Darmstadt, 2012), 62–70; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 212.
- 24 William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, RHC Oc, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844–95), 1:9–1134, at 758; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 216.
- 25 Duke Henry is testified, along with Margrave William of Montferrat, in the deed that King Conrad issued in Friuli in May 1149 on his homebound journey to Germany. MGH DD K III, ed. Friedrich Hausmann (Vienna, 1968), 357–59, no. 198.
- 26 Magdalino, 62; Rhoby, "Byzanz," 607–8. Of the vast literature on the events in 1156, lately the collective work *Die Geburt Österreichs: 850 Jahre Privilegium minus* (see note 13).
- 27 Heilig, "Ostrom," 235–37; Rhoby, "Byzanz," 604–7; Scheibelreiter, 220, 222.
- 28 Magdalino, 74; Bernard Hamilton, *The Lepper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, UK, 2000), 27, 66, 139 (hereafter cited as Hamilton); Peter W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge, 1997), 10 (hereafter cited as Edbury).
- 29 "Wilhelmus marchio de Montferrato, ejusdem domini imperatoris sororius." William of Tyre, *Historia*, 758; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 216.
- 30 Walter Haberstumpf, "Guglielmo Lungaspada di Montferrato (1176–1177)," in Idem, *Dinastie Europee nel Mediterraneo Orientale*, Gli Alambicchi V (Turin, 1995), 31–42; David Jacoby, "Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1187–1192)," in *Dai feudi monferrini e dal Piemonte ai nuovi mondi oltre gli Oceani*, ed. L. Balletto, Biblioteca della Società di Storia Arte e Archeologia per le Province di Alessandria e Asti 27 (Alessandria, 1993), 187–238, at 188–89; Brenda M. Bolton, "A Matter of Great Confusion: King Richard I and Syria's *Vetus de Monte*," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, eds. Alexander Beihammer et al., *The Medieval Mediterranean* 74 (Leiden, 2008), 171–202, at 182–85; Hamilton, 101, 109–11, 117–18, 139; Jonathan Phillips,

- Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations Between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187* (Oxford, 1996), 226–29; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973), 104–6.
- 31 Walter Haberstumpf, “Ranieri di Monferrato: i rapporti tra Bisanzio e gli Aleramici nel secolo XII,” in *Dinastie Europee* (see n. 30), 43–77, at 51–52; Magdalino, 100–1; Hamilton, 148, 174; Jacoby, “Conrad,” 189; Phillips, *Defenders*, 243.
 - 32 MGH SS 9:505, 542, 586, 594, 617, 732; Scheibelreiter, 236, 244.
 - 33 Einar Joranson, “The Palestine Pilgrimage of Henry the Lion,” in *Medieval and Historical-Geographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson*, eds. James Lea Cate et al. (Chicago, 1938), 146–225, at 169–72; Scheibelreiter, 236.
 - 34 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Georg Pertz, MGH SS rer. Germ. 14 (Hanover, 1868), 12.
 - 35 Phillips, *Defenders*, 246–47.
 - 36 Phillips, *Defenders*, 249–50, does not mention him, but only Duke Henry of Lorraine and Ralph of Mauléon, who came to Palestine one year later.
 - 37 *Annales Mellicenses*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH SS 9 (Hannover, 1851), 480–535, at 505. In *Continuatio Cremifanensis*, Idem, 546: “Dux Austriae . . . cum multis sibi iunctis versus Constantinopolim Iherusalem tendit.”
 - 38 Hamilton, 172; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951–54), 2:432–33.
 - 39 King Bela III was married to Agnes of Antioch, the daughter of Reynald of Châtillon. Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London, 2001), 53; Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III (1095–1196): Hungarian Domestic Policies and Their Impact upon Foreign Affairs*, East European Monographs 220 (New York, 1987), 203.
 - 40 “Liupoldus dux Austrie per Ungariam a Bela rege, et per Greciam ab Alexio, filio Manuelis imperatoris Grecorum . . . honorifice conductus, Ierosolimam ivit.” *Continuatio Zwetlensis altera*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH SS 9 (Hannover, 1851), 541–44, at 542.
 - 41 Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, 1997), 650–53; Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: A Political History* (London, 1997), 295–97; Haberstumpf, “Ranieri,” 74–75; Hamilton, 173–74; Phillips, *Defenders*, 250–51.
 - 42 “Dux Liupoldus per Apuliam toto anno illo moratus Ierosolimis circa natalem Domini revertitur.” *Continuatio Zwetlensis*, 542.
 - 43 William of Tyre, *Historia*, 1094; Edbury, 10–11; Hamilton, 174–75.
 - 44 Hamilton, 175–76; Runciman, *A History*, 433.
 - 45 “Liupoldus dux Austrie . . . afferens portionem sancte crucis ad mensuram virilis manus . . . quam crucem in monasterio Sancte Crucis reliquit.” MGH SS 9:617, 732.
 - 46 William of Tyre, *Historia*, 1095; Hamilton, 174.
 - 47 “Dux Austrie Liupoldus, secundo, et rex Francie, rex quoque Anglie . . . versus Ierosolimam egressi sunt.” MGH SS 9:618.
 - 48 *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris: Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, ed. Anton Chroust, MGH SS rer. Germ. N.S. 5 (Berlin, 1928), 15–16; translated as *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. Graham A. Loud, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 19 (Farnham, 2010), 45–46; Scheibelreiter, 245.
 - 49 *Historia de expeditione*, 4; *The Crusade of Frederick*, 35–36; BUB 4.1, 202–3, no. 886.
 - 50 Heinrich Fichtenau, “Akkon, Zypern und das Lösegeld für Richard Löwenherz,” *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 125 (1966): 11–32, at 12; Scheibelreiter, 245.
 - 51 *Historia de expeditione*, 96–97; *The Crusade of Frederick*, 120–21.
 - 52 Jacoby, “Conrad,” 193–94, 201; Bolton, “A Matter,” 183–86; Edbury, 18–22; Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, 114–17.
 - 53 Edbury, 22.

- 54 Excellent analysis by John Gillingham, *Richard I*, Yale English Monarchs series (New Haven, 1999), 224–26; Fichtenau, “Akkon,” 13–21.
- 55 “Lyppoldus dux de Osterico omnia predicta mea subscriptione iussi confirmari.” Mayer, *Urkunden*, 2:900–4, no. 530; BUB 4.1, 211, no. 901; Jacoby, “Conrad,” 217; Gillingham, *Richard I*, 157 n. 7; Bolton, “A Matter,” 185–86; Fichtenau, “Akkon,” 15.
- 56 This was stressed by King Philip himself in a letter to the Duke of Austria from 1193, “Chunradum marchionem . . . consanguineum quondam vestrum karissimum et nostrum.” BUB 4.1, 220–21, no. 923.
- 57 Otto of St Blasien, *Chronica*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS rer. Germ. 47 (Hannover, 1912), 53–54; *Annales Marbacenses*, 63.
- 58 Gillingham, *Richard I*, 155–63, 224–26; Fichtenau, “Akkon,” 16–21; Scheibelreiter, 248–51; Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, 116–19.
- 59 The letter was presumably forged by Richard’s men. Gillingham, *Richard I*, 197–201; Bolton, “A Matter,” 193–99. Published in BUB 4.1, 222–23, no. 925; translated in Bolton, “A Matter,” Appendix, 200.
- 60 *Historia de expeditione*, 98; *The Crusade of Frederick*, 121.
- 61 The most thorough study to date is Claudia Naumann, *Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Heinrichs VI.* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994); also Graham A. Loud, “The German Crusade of 1197–1198,” *Crusades* 13 (2014): 143–71.
- 62 This was stressed by Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge MA, 2008), 488–94; Loud, “The German Crusade,” 143.
- 63 Otto of St Blasien, *Chronica*, 66.
- 64 *Historia de expeditione*, 112; *The Crusade of Frederick*, 132; *Annales Marbacenses*, 66; *Continuatio Admontensis*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH SS 9 (Hannover, 1851), 579–93, at 587; Otto of St Blasien, *Chronica*, 67; Kosi, “The Fifth Crusade,” 91.
- 65 Naumann, *Der Kreuzzug*, 144–46, 150, 164; Gerhard Baaken, ed., *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich VI. 1165 (1190)–1197*, Regesta Imperii IV/3 (Köln, 1972), 241–45, nos. 596, 599, 605. On Henry of Mödling, see Franz Gall, “Die ‘Herzoge’ von Mödling,” *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 120 (1954): 3–44, at 23–24.
- 66 Max Perlbach, ed., *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften* (Halle a. S., 1890), 159–60; Udo Arnold, “De primordiis ordinis Theutonicici narratio,” *Preußenland* 4 (1966): 17–30; Marie-Luise Favreau, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, Kieler historische Studien 21 (Stuttgart, 1974), 64–66; Naumann, *Der Kreuzzug*, 211–14.
- 67 Known from the deed of his brother and successor Leopold VI for the monastery Heiligenkreuz in 1203. BUB I, 175–76, no. 136. The document also lists six of the duke’s crusading companions, among them Bishop Wolfger of Passau and Count Meinhard II of Görz.
- 68 Klaus Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg: Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1309*, QSGDO 56 (Marburg, 1999), 265–66; cf. Favreau, *Studien*, 75–76.
- 69 BUB I, 32–34, no. 24. At the request of Duke Henry II of Austria, in September 1156, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa confirmed all the possessions of the Hospitallers in Austria. Heinrich Appelt, ed., MGH DD F I, 5 vols. (Hannover, 1975–90), 1:261–62, no. 152; Maximilian Weltin, “Die Anfänge der Johanniterkommenden Mailberg und Stroheim,” in *Landesgeschichte und Archivwissenschaft*, Mitteilungen des Oberösterreichischen Landesarchivs 18 (Linz, 1996), 187–201, at 189–90.
- 70 “quod domini Templarii prius hunc locum inhabitaverunt, sed per principem a loco translati sunt.” (the oldest chronicle of the Vienna Dominicans from the fifteenth century). Isnard Wilhelm Frank, *Hausstudium und Universitätsstudium der Wiener Dominikaner bis 1500*, Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 127 (Vienna, 1968), 3 n. 7. Cf. also BUB 4.2, 136–37, no. 1095.
- 71 See note 14.

- 72 They joined the embassy in Acre in august 1211 and might have been originally sent to the East independently of imperial envois. BUB 4.2, 63, no. 1016; Peter Halfter, "Die Staufer und Armenien," in *Von Schwaben bis Jerusalem: Facetten staufischer Geschichte*, eds. Sönke Lorenz *et al.* (Sigmaringen, 1995), 187–208, at 201–3; Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Templars and the Teutonic Knights in Cilician Armenia," in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. T.S.R. Boase (Edinburgh, 1978), 92–117, at 111–13; Morton, *The Teutonic Knights*, 55–56.
- 73 See Kosi, "The Fifth Crusade," 105–11.
- 74 On the causes Nicholas Morton, "*In subsidium*: The Declining Contribution of Germany and Eastern Europe to the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1221–91," *German Historical Institute London Bulletin* 33/1 (2011): 38–66.
- 75 BUB 4.2, 263–64, no. 1244: "indulgentiam elargimur, que transfretantibus in terre sancte subsidium in generali concilio est concessa."

19 Eberhard of Sayn

The Teutonic Grand Commander and his contribution to the military order's position in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

Shlomo Lotan

At the end of 1244, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem knew one of its most bitter defeats at the Battle of La Forbie (Hirbyia) on 17 October 1244. At the end of the battle 16,000 warriors had been killed, among them approximately 1,000 members of the military orders.¹

In his *Chronica Majora*, the Saint Albans monk Matthew Paris provided a harsh description of Robert of Nantes, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had been badly wounded on the battlefield. Many warriors had been taken into captivity, such as the Hospitaller Magister William of Chateaufort and the noble Walter IV of Brienne, Count of Jaffa; some had been lost on the battlefield, such as Conrad of Nassau, the Teutonic Preceptor; and a few had survived by fleeing to the protected cities which had remained in the Crusader Kingdom. Robert of Nantes managed to flee northward for fear of the Egyptians and their allies, the Khwarizmian tribes. After his recovery, he wrote an urgent letter to the Christian leaders in the crusader principalities and in Europe, describing the horror of the battle and the Christian defeat.²

In his letter, the patriarch demanded immediate assistance from the Christian strongholds in the Latin East and in Europe. Among other things, he stated that the Khwarizmian tribes had spread around the crusader territories undisturbed, with no opposition, occupying the land, and dividing it among themselves as if they owned it. He claimed that the Saracens had appointed officials in the Christian cities and villages to receive the agricultural crops from the farmers. He ended the letter by saying that the Christians had no land except for the few fortresses they are holding with great difficulty.³

The question that arises in this matter is how the crusaders kept up their resistance following these events, and how they found the strength to continue fighting, as most of their possessions and land acquisitions had been severely reduced by the Muslim assaults. This question must also be asked regarding the military orders, which had lost most of their warriors and military strength in the battle of La Forbie, and remained weak, defending the much-reduced Crusader Kingdom with limited troops.

In this chapter, I discuss the Teutonic Order's activities, describing how the Grand Commander (Großkomtur) Eberhard of Sayn, who replaced the Teutonic

Grand Master, dealt with these events which affected the Teutonic order and its status in the Latin East. Based on this, I assess the activities of this Teutonic leader who had greatly influenced the survival of the Teutonic military order in the Latin East following the harsh defeats it had experienced.

To date, research regarding the Teutonic order has mainly dealt with tracing the Teutonic grand masters and their activities in the various sites. Less information has been gathered regarding the order's high-ranking officers. This tracing of the leadership has been conducted mainly based on original documents, that is, names mentioned in purchase documents and grants of territories in the Crusader Kingdom and in Europe.⁴

It should be noted that in the mid-thirteenth century, when the leadership of the order was located in its headquarters in the Crusader Kingdom, most of its leaders did not spend time there. This was mainly due to the deployment of the Teutonic order to northern Europe, particularly following the conquest of the territories in the Baltic region, in Prussia, and Livonia. The Teutonic activities in Europe had expanded, and their assignments had grown in scope in conjunction with the pope and the Roman emperor.⁵ This was true during the tenure of the Teutonic Magister Hermann von Salza (1209–1239), as well as during the period of the leaders who replaced him, such as Heinrich von Hohenlohe (1244–1249).⁶

Clearly, it is precisely these substitutes who remained to supervise the order's activities in the Latin Kingdom who were able to organise this military institution. Such was the case of the Grand Commander Eberhard of Sayn – the main focus of this chapter.

The name of Eberhard of Sayn (a member of a noble family located in the Rhineland, north of Koblenz), first became known in the Latin Kingdom in an acquisition document from 1240, when the Teutonic order agreed to hand over a quarter of the income of their agricultural production in the village of Arabia to the Hospitallers, who also cultivated land in that village.

The charter stated that the income will reach 5,000 Byzants, the amount of the lease paid to the Hospitallers for use of the area. The document also stated that if the village is conquered by the Muslims, the Teutonic order will cease payment.⁷ This document reveals the military reality of that period, including the uncertainty regarding the strength of the Crusader Kingdom and the military orders' involvement in the Lower Galilee, in areas where the Muslims had succeeded in changing the borders of crusader territories (Figure 19.1).⁸

In this document, Eberhard's name appeared as one of the Teutonic officials' signatures – the Teutonic treasurer, who had dealt with this economic complexity.⁹ It is possible that at that time he began to pave his way to the Teutonic leadership of the Latin Kingdom.

Eberhard of Sayn is not mentioned in the medieval sources as having participated in the Battle of La Forbie. We can learn from these sources that the Teutonic Marshal Conrad von Nassau was lost on the battlefield, and that 397 out of 400 Teutonic knights were killed, with only three surviving from the bloodshed.¹⁰ Where was Eberhard of Sayn at that time and how had he survived the terrible massacre? This is not mentioned in those sources.

The name of Eberhard of Sayn, still the Teutonic Grand Commander, appeared again in one important charter from 1249, a document of land purchases in the Upper Galilee from the noble John Aleman.¹¹ It seems that this document had strengthened the Teutonic holdings in the Upper Galilee and expanded their strongholds outside their territory and their centre in the region of Mi'ilya (Castellum Regis), as well as the order's headquarters at Montfort Castle.¹² This record marked the acquisition of the new territories and the spread of the Teutonic order to plots of land in several villages, such as Gelon, Mergecolon, Saint George, Nef, and Seifor, located along the main road crossing the Galilee between Acre and Safad, the main Templar fortresses in the Galilee (see Figure 19.1).¹³

This document also pointed at the growing trend of that time, the expansion of sales of local nobility estates to the military orders. The local nobility, whose territories had been reduced by the clash with the Muslims in the first half of the thirteenth century, began to sell their properties. This was mainly due to the loss of security and income from their agricultural lands and villages. The military orders became the economic and military support for preserving these assets and maintaining their holdings during this period of uncertainty.¹⁴

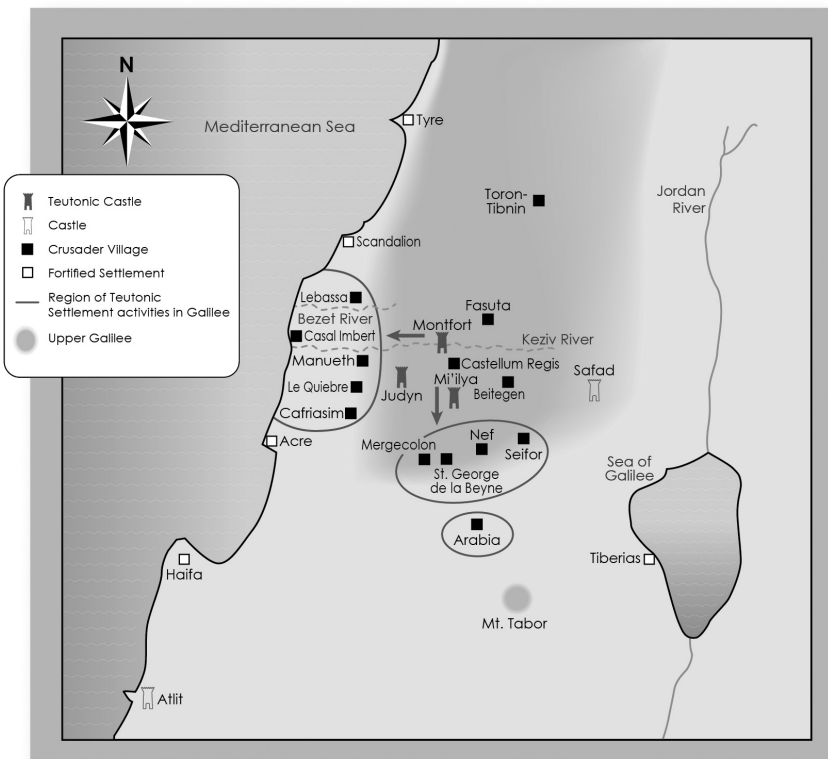


Figure 19.1 Map of the Teutonic order settlement in Galilee (1240–1256)

In order to establish its hold in the heart of the Galilee, the Teutonic order used connections developed with the noble families in the Latin East, as in the example of Bertrand Porcelet, and his wife Isabella, who sold one of their inheritances in the village of Arabia in the Lower Galilee.¹⁵

These motivations ceased due to the events of the period, particularly the departure of the Seventh Crusade to Egypt in 1248. Apparently, Eberhard of Sayn also participated in this campaign alongside his Teutonic warriors during the fighting on the Nile Delta.¹⁶

It seems that Eberhard of Sayn spent only a short period of time with the crusaders in Egypt. He then continued on an institutional mission to the Teutonic commands in Northern Europe to stabilise the Teutonic organisation in the Baltic region. Eberhard of Sayn travelled through Germany to Prussia and Livonia, spreading harsh news about the military disaster of the al-Mansūra battle in Egypt in February 1250.¹⁷ He estimated the losses incurred in this campaign at 36,000 dead, with another 15,000 captured. He further stated that 4,000 men had joined the infidels, due to the lack of provisions. Thus, he reported that Damietta had surrendered, and the French King Louis IX had been captured and then ransomed for approximately 100,000 marks.¹⁸ These figures may have been exaggerated, but still represent recognition of the Christian defeat in Egypt.

Eberhard of Sayn stayed in the Baltic region from 1251 until 1254 and organised the leadership of the Teutonic positions located in Prussia and Livonia. The Teutonic leader led large campaigns against the heathen tribes opposed to Christianity and to the Teutonic invasion. It seems that Eberhard of Sayn as the Teutonic emissary strengthened the organisation of the order's brethren during that period of military difficulties and leadership crises in Teutonic strongholds in Prussia and Livonia.¹⁹

The Teutonic leader brought a copy of the Teutonic Order regulations – *Statuten*, from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. This *Ordenbüch* laid out the way the soldiers and clerics were to behave and determined the proper customs for the continued organisation of the military order. These rules not only attempted to develop the existing principles of the military order, but also mentioned the three major subsections of the Teutonic Statutes: rule, law and customs (*ordo, consuetudines, iudicia*).²⁰

The statutes sought to bring together the various commands and establish clear procedures for the continued uniformity of the Teutonic headquarters, particularly those in the Baltic region, which had known periods of fighting and incessant clashes with the pagan tribes, the enemies of Christianity.²¹ Eberhard of Sayn tried to supervise the order's activities in its northern provinces, where he was called *Frater Eberhard de Seyne vicem magistri*.²²

These statutes emphasised the Teutonic order's need for concrete instructions. Some of the regulations identified the need for the gathering and learning of the statutes. These regulations were transmitted to the Teutonic brethren through public gatherings, with one paragraph read to the brethren every Sunday and on special occasions, such as Christian feasts and celebrations, as well as during general chapter meetings. Every commander was expected to hold a copy of the statutes

in order for the brethren to be able to study them. These statutes also emphasised that the brethren were not allowed to promulgate new regulations without the consent of the grand master and the chapter overseas. In addition, no one could join the order unless he promised obedience to his master and the chapter. Every year, letters were to be sent to the land across the sea, and in the second or third year, a high-ranking brother of the convent had to be sent in person. All clerics and other brothers were bound under the statutes of the Holy Land, as the authorities required.²³ The purpose of these regulations appeared to be to limit Teutonic provincial control and centralise authority upon the chapter located in the Latin Kingdom, the place of the Teutonic headquarters.²⁴

Eberhard of Sayn's visit to Prussia and Livonia reflected the attempt of the Teutonic chapter in Acre and the Montfort Castle in the Galilee to re-establish its authority over the order's commanders in the Baltic region. The organisation of the order's institutions and the ways in which the Teutonic members behaved strengthened the Teutonic headquarters' status and power in the Latin Kingdom. Their mission in defending the Holy Land under the command of the Pope, the Roman Emperor, and the Crusader Kings, alongside the leading military orders, ensured the position of the Teutonic headquarters in the Latin East.²⁵ The transfer of the Teutonic order's regulations from the Teutonic headquarters in the Latin Kingdom to the Teutonic provinces in Northern Europe emphasised this.

Contrary to Eberhard of Sayn's solid stand in his mission to the Baltic region, there was a decline in the Teutonic order's military and financial situation in the Crusader Kingdom at the time. The matter was raised in a letter from the Teutonic Marshall Peter of Koblenz, positioned in the Latin Kingdom. In 1254, he sent an urgent letter from the Latin East to Alfonso X, King of Castile and Leon (1252–1284), complaining that he had received no reinforcements from the Western commands.²⁶

Peter of Koblenz stated that the Teutonic brethren had remained with the French king for all the years of fighting against the enemies of the Christian faith. As a result, the order has incurred serious debt to the moneylenders, and therefore it is in need of Christian support, since it has spent so much money it will never be able to get back. The Teutonic marshal also declared that even the Templars and the Hospitallers, both rich and powerful, cannot furnish a third or even a quarter of the service they had previously provided in the Latin East.²⁷ This letter reflected the destitute atmosphere and the fear shared by the military orders in the Latin East at the time. It must be emphasised that during this period the Archbishops of Tyre and Nazareth, the leadership of the well-established military orders including the Teutonic marshal, and the representatives of the Frankish nobility (among them the Ibelin and Montfort families, including Jean d'Aleman, Lord of Caesarea), also called for assistance from Henry III, King of England.²⁸ This call reflected the financial crisis and the problematic situation of the Latin Kingdom, following the departure of King Louis IX back to France in 1254.²⁹

Ending his mission in the Baltic region, Eberhard of Sayn returned to his position in the Latin Kingdom in 1254. On an acquisition charter from the year 1256,

Eberhard of Sayn is recorded as acting as a substitute for the Teutonic master, a representative of the Teutonic leadership in a property agreement in Achziv in the western Galilee. In this agreement, the nobleman John of Ibelin leased his territory to the Teutonic order for a period of ten years, in exchange for an annual sum of 13,000 Byzants.³⁰

The name of the Teutonic grand commander is also listed among the signatories of the 1257 document (*fratibus Evrardo, magno preceptore*), in an agreement with Florentin, the bishop of Acre, regarding the collecting of tithes and agricultural produce from their Galilee villages. This document listed a number of agricultural crops produced in the western Galilee, in villages owned by the Teutonic order. The bishop of Acre dealt with the debts of the Teutonic order and the agricultural tithes he demanded from its institutions. The bishop required that part of the agricultural produce be brought to him from the Galilee villages under the protection of the Teutonic order.³¹

The agricultural taxes included the produce of the vineyards, the fields, and other agricultural crops in the Teutonic villages, mainly in the villages of the western Galilee, such as Lebassa (Betzet), Missop (Matzuva), Cafriasim (Kfar Yasif), and Busenen (Abu Snan), as well as Castellum Regis (see Figure 19.1). The certificate stated that the tithes be paid by agricultural produce and the products made from it, such as wine produced from the vineyards, oil, and the food produced from goats' milk, and honey from the bees. In addition, various types of field crops, vegetables and plantations were documented in villages owned by the Teutonic order (vines, barley and wheat, grains, and various types of legumes), as well as animals, such as pigs.³²

It seems that details of the agricultural produce, as presented in this document, contributed greatly to the military order's advancement of agricultural activity in the Teutonic holdings in the Galilee villages during the leadership of Eberhard of Sayn. With the resourcefulness of their leader, the Teutonic order extended its area to the western Galilee, including yielding agricultural lands there. There is no doubt that the activities of Eberhard of Sayn inspired the Teutonic members, as well as contributing to the strengthening of Teutonic economics in the region.

There is not much information in the sources of that period regarding the end of Eberhard of Sayn's activity in the Latin East after the rise of the newly elected Grand Master Anno of Sangerhausen (1256–1273).³³ During the first years of his leadership (1257–1261), the new Teutonic magister strengthened the Teutonic headquarters located in the Latin Kingdom and expanded Teutonic control over new outposts, such as in the region of Jezzine in the Souf Mountains of Southern Lebanon.³⁴ Anno of Sangerhausen also worked resolutely with the masters of the other leaders of the military orders, creating military and territorial agreement, including provision for arbitration of penalties for the settling of differences regarding property and land acquisitions in the Latin East, at a time when the new Muslim power was gaining strength.³⁵ During that period, Eberhard of Sayn is absent from the documents describing Teutonic activity in the Latin East.

The image of a leader is evident in his activity, determination, and contribution to the strengthening of his followers. Such was Eberhard of Sayn, who was one

of the key members of the Teutonic order's leadership during a period of constant fighting against the Muslims. Eberhard of Sayn knew how to strengthen the members of the order and unite them under the Teutonic regulations in their military and religious mission in the Latin East and in the Baltic region of Northern Europe. Through his mission, he contributed to the consolidation of the Teutonic order and the extension of its control over large areas in the upper and western Galilee. He was one of the Teutonic leaders who identified the weakening of the crusader local nobility and managed to acquire their properties in order to stabilise the borders of the Latin Kingdom, thereby strengthening the Teutonic order's status and its control in the Latin East. There is no doubt that with the contribution and resourcefulness of the Teutonic Grand Commander Eberhard of Sayn, the Teutonic order was able to withstand another decisive change in its history after the defeat in the battle of La Forbie and its aftermath, in the middle of the thirteenth century.

Notes

- 1 *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam ordinis minorum*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, in MGH Scriptores 32 (Hannover, 1905–1913), 177: “Insuper, quod peius est, XVI milia Francorum et tantus numerus aliorum, qui pro Christo sanguinem proprium effuderunt . . . in quorum numero errant plusquam XXV milia Saracenorum”, *L’Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d’Outremer*, in *RHC Occ* 2:427–31; Marie-Luise Bulst-Thiele, “Zur Geschichte der Ritterorden und des Königreichs Jerusalem im 13. Jahrhundert bis zur Schlacht bei La Forbie am 17. Okt. 1244,” *Deutsches Archiv* 22 (1966): 219–22; Ilya Berkowitz, “The Battle of Forbie and the Second Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem,” *Journal of Military History* 75/1 (2011): 26–32.
- 2 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry R. Luard, RS 57 (London, 1872–1883), 4:337–44, at 342: “Magister vero Hospitalis . . . cum multis aliis capti in Babiloniam sunt deducti . . . et praeceptore Sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum . . . cum non apparuerint, plurimum dubitatur utrum adhuc in bello obierint . . . Nos vero patriarcha, in quos, nostris peccatis exigentibus, omnis calamitas supervenit, indigni a Domino martyrio deputati, evasimus semivivi, apud Ascalonam cum nobilibus viris”; Christopher J. Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291* (Cambridge, 1992), 55–61, 147–49; Judith Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East 1187–1274* (Woodbridge, 2005), 22–24, 138–39; Shlomo Lotan, “The Battle of La Forbie (1244) and its Aftermath – Re-examination of the Military Orders Involvement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the mid-Thirteenth Century,” *Ordines Militares. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 17 (2012): 59–60.
- 3 Matthew Paris, ed. Luard, 4:343: “Cum enim tota terra Christianitatis gladiis acquisita sit privata suffragio et defensorum sufficientia destituta, superstites vero sint numero pauci, in examinatione deducti, restat ut crucis hostibus ad votum desiderata succedant, qui in maximam audaciam prodeuntes castra sua posuerunt in planitie Aconensi prope civitatem per miliaria duo”; Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1975), 2:312–15; Karl E. Lupprian, “Papst Innocenz IV, und die Ayyubiden Diplomatische Beziehungen von 1244 bis 1247,” in *Das Heilige Land im Mittelalter. Begegnungsraum zwischen Orient und Okzident*, eds. Wolfdietrich Fischer and Jürgen Schneider (Neustadt an der Aisch, 1982), 78–79.
- 4 *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1994*, ed. Udo Arnold, QSGDO 40 (Marburg, 1998) [hereafter QSGDO]; Klaus Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg*,

- Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1309*, QSGDO 56 (Marburg, 1999); Nicholas E. Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land 1190–1291* (Woodbridge, 2009).
- 5 Karol Górski, "The Teutonic Order in Prussia," *Medievalia et humanistica* 17 (1966): 28–29; Francis L. Carsten, *The Origins of Prussia* (Oxford, 1954), 13–17; Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (Minneapolis, 1980), 75–80; Gerard Labuda, "Über die Urkunden zur Gründung des Deutschen Ordens im Kulmerlande und in Preußen in den Jahren 1226–1234," in *Die Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht im Mittelalter*, Ordines Militares, Colloquia Torunensia Historica 5, ed. Zenon H. Nowak (Toruń, 1990) [hereafter OMCTH], 30–44; Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, "Mission to the Heathen in Prussia and Livonia: The Attitudes of the Religious Military Orders toward Christianization," in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, eds. Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. Wood (Turnhout, 2000), 151, 154; László Pószán, "Prussian Missions and the Invitation of the Teutonic Order into Kulmerland," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, eds. Zsolt Hunyadi and Joseef Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), 435–38; Sylvain Gouguenheim, "L'empereur, le grand maître et la Prusse: la Bulle de Rimini en question (1226/1235)," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 162/2 (2004): 384–92.
 - 6 Helmuth Kluger, *Hochmeister Herman von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, QSGDO 37 (Marburg, 1987), 141–62; Udo Arnold, "Heinrich von Hohenlohe," in *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Orden*, 24–26.
 - 7 *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*, ed. Ernest Strehlke (Berlin, 1869; repr. Toronto and Jerusalem 1975), 70–71, no. 89 (1240); *Cart Hosp.* 2: 574–75, no. 2245 (1240); Gustav Beyer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Akko und Galilaea," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 67 (1944–45): 200, 204; Hans E. Mayer, "Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft 'Arräbe,'" *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 93 (1977): 205; Steven Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099–1291* (Oxford, 1989), 161; Nicholas Morton, "The Teutonic Knights during the Ibelin-Lombard Conflict," in *MO*, 4 142–43.
 - 8 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050–1310* (London, 1967), 429–30; Regarding some definitions of border lines and regional change in the territories in the Latin Kingdom, especially in the Galilee region, see: Nikolas Jaspert, "Grenzen und Grenzenräume im Mittelalter: Forschungen, Konzepte und Begriffe," in *Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich – Der Osten und der Westen des Mittelalterlichen Lateineuropas*, eds. Klaus Herbers and Nikolas Jaspert (Berlin, 2007), 15, 17–18; Ronnie Ellenblum, "Were there Borders and Border-lines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Medieval Frontiers, Concepts and Practices*, eds. Nora Berend and David Abulafia (London, 2002), 109–16.
 - 9 *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, ed. Strehlke, 71, no. 89 (1240): "frater Everardus thesaurarius."
 - 10 *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin*, in *RHC Occ.* 2:564: "la fin li nostre ne porent soffrir cele grant planté de mescreanz, ainz furent desconfist en tel maniere que des frerez del Temple n'en eschapa, que xxxvi Templierz, et des Hospitalierz jusqu'à xxvi et iii frerez de l'Ospital Nostre Dame des Alemanz."
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 - 14 Alan Forey, *The Military Orders, From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1992), 17–23, 77–88; Helen J. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitalers, and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291* (Leicester, 1995), 105–12; Nicholas Morton, *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120–1314* (Harlow, 2013), 54–66.
 - 15 John L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100–1291* (Cambridge, MA, 1932), 217–25; Kurt Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer*, QSGDO 2 (Bonn, 1967), 107–8; Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg*, 189–90.
 - 16 *Annales Erphordenses Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, in MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* 42 (Hannover, 1899), 108–9; *The Seventh Crusade, 1244–1254: Sources and Documents*, ed. and trans. Peter Jackson (Aldershot, 2007), 175; Indrikis Sterns, “The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States,” in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 5, eds. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard (Madison, 1985), 324–25.
 - 17 Karl H. Lampe, “Eberhard von Sayn,” in *Altpreußische Biographie*, vol. 2, eds. Christian Krollmann, Kurt Forstreuter, and Fritz Gause (Marburg, 1967), 595; Dieter Wojtecki, *Studien zur Personengeschichte des Deutschen Ordens im 13. Jahrhundert*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 3 (Wiesbaden, 1971), 44; Marc Löwener, *Die Einrichtung von Verwaltungsstrukturen in Preußen durch den Deutschen Orden bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 199–200.
 - 18 *Annales Erphordenses Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 108–9.
 - 19 *Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter*, eds. Marian Biskup and Irena Janosz-Biskupowa, QSGDO 50.1 (Marburg, 2002), 3–5 no. 2; *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, trans. Jerry C. Smith and William Urban (Bloomington, 2006), no. 3577, 48–49, no. 3609, 49; Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg*, 144–46; For a new study about the rule of the Teutonic brethren and their military and religious mission in Livonia, see: Alexander Baranov, “Die Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens in Livland und die Eroberung Kurlands. Ein peripheres Tätigkeitsfeld?,” in *Livland – Eine Region am Ende der Welt. Forschungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie im späten Mittelalter*, eds. Anti Selart and Matthias Thumser (Cologne and Weimar, 2014), 315–17, 320–21.
 - 20 *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*, ed. Max Perlbach (Halle, 1890); Klaus Militzer, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Stuttgart, 2005), 17–23.
 - 21 Manfred Hellmann, “Die Stellung des livländischen Ordenszweiges zur Gesamtpolitik des Deutschen Ordens vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Von Akkon bis Wien. Studien zur Deutschordensgeschichte vom 13 bis zum 20 Jahrhundert*, ed. Udo Arnold, QSGDO 20 (Marburg, 1978), 9; Udo Arnold, “Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens. Neue amerikanische Forschungsergebnisse,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 83 (1975): 144–53; Udo Arnold, “Die Anfänge der Ordensgeschichtsschreibung,” in *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*, eds. Bernhart Jähnig and Arno Mentzel Reuters (Stuttgart, 2014), 182–83, 189; Hubert

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- 22 *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. Perlbach, 161–62; *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. Ernst Hennig (Königsberg, 1806), 221–24; Indrikis Sterns, *The Statutes of the Teutonic Knights: A Study of Religious Chivalry*, Dissertation in History, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1969), 45–47.
 - 23 *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. Perlbach, 161; Sterns, *The Statutes of the Teutonic Knights*, 44–46.
 - 24 *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. Perlbach, 162; Regarding the status and position of Teutonic headquarters placed in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, see: *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. Perlbach, *Gewohnheiten* no. 3, 91, *Gewohnheiten* no. 8, 97; Udo Arnold, "Der Deutsche Orden zwischen Kaiser und Papst im 13. Jahrhundert," in *Die Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht im Mittelalter*, OMCTH 5, ed. Zenon H. Nowak (Toruń, 1990), 57–61.
 - 25 Klaus Militzer, "From the Holy Land to Prussia: The Teutonic Knights between Emperors and Popes and their Policies until 1309," in *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. Jürgen Sarnowsky (Aldershot, 1999), 75–77; Shlomo Lotan, "Governing the Teutonic Order from Outremer – The Teutonic Headquarters Competing in the Last Era of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Herrschaft, Netzwerke, Brüder des Deutschen Ordens in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*. Vorträge der Tagung der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens in Marburg 2010, QSGDO 72, ed. Klaus Militzer (Weimar, 2012), 31–33; Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land*, 169–70.
 - 26 José M. Rodríguez García and Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "Alfonso X, la Orden Teutónica y Tierra Santa. Una nueva fuente para su estudio," in *Las órdenes militares en la Península ibérica*, vol. 1, eds. Ricardo Izquierdo Benito and Francisco Ruiz Gómez (Cuenca, 2000), 507–10; *Letters from the East, Crusades, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries*, trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 18 (Farnham, 2010), 151–53; Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land*, 106–7.
 - 27 *Letters from the East*, trans. Barber and Bate, 152–53.
 - 28 *RRH*, no. 1221 (1254), 322.
 - 29 Christopher J. Marshall, "The French Regiment in the Latin East, 1254–1291," *Journal of Medieval History* 15/4 (1989): 301–2; Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, eds. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore, 2004), 46–47.
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 - 31 *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, ed. Strehlke, no. 112 (1257), 93; Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, 149–50.
 - 32 *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, ed. Strehlke, no. 112 (1257), 92.
 - 33 Gerard Labuda, "Anno von Sangerhausen," in *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1994*, 31–33; Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land*, 114–16.
 - 34 *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, ed. Strehlke, no. 108 (1257), 88; no. 110 (1257), 89; no. 111 (1257), 90–91; no. 113 (1257), 95; no. 118 (1261), 104–6; John L. La Monte, "The Lords of Sidon in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Byzantion* 17 (1944–1945): 205–10; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973), 203; Peter Hilsch, "Der Deutsche Ritterorden im südlichen Libanon," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 96 (1980): 174–89; Peter Jackson, "The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260," *English Historical Review* 95 (1980): 502–3.

- 35 *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, ed. Strehlke, no. 116 (1258), 98–103, at 98: “frater Thomas Berardi, domus milicie Templi magister humilis, et frater Hugo de Revel, domus hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Ierosolimitani magister et pauperum Christi custos, et frater Anno de Sangerhusen, domus hospitalis sancte Marie Theotonicorum magister”; Jochen Burgdorf, “Leadership Structures in the orders of the Hospital and the Temple (Twelfth to Early Fourteenth Centuries), Select Aspects,” in *The Crusades and the Military Orders*, 383; Alan Forey, “Procedures for the Settlement of Disputes between Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *Ordines Militares. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 19 (2014): 36.